

THE  
Second volume of  
*Chronicles :*

Containing the description,  
*conquest, inhabitation, and tro-*  
*blesome estate of Ireland; first col-*  
*lected by Raphaell Holinshed; and*  
*now newlie recognised, augmen-*  
*ted, and continued from the death*  
*of king Henrie the eight vntill this*  
*present tyme of sir Iohn Perot*  
*knight, lord deputie: as*  
*appeareth by the sup-*  
*plie beginning in*  
*pag. 109, &c.*

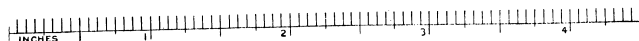
By Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell gent. :

*Wherevnto is annexed the de-*  
*scription and historie of Scotland,*  
*first published by the said R. H. and*  
*now newlie reuiled, enlarged, and*  
*continued to this present yeare; and*  
*as appeareth in pag.*  
*405 : &c.*  
By F. T.

With two tables seruing both  
*counties added in the end*  
*of this volume.*

*Historia placuit nostrates ac peregrina.*

1586





TO THE RIGHT HO-  
 norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,  
 lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president  
*of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and*  
 one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir  
*realme of England.*



Taking in hand (right honorable)  
 to gather the particular histories of diuerse  
 countries and nations, to ioine with a cos-  
 mographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late  
 printer to the queenes maiestie meant to  
 publish in our English toong: when I came to  
 consider of the histories of Ireland, I found  
 my self so vnprovided of helps, to set downe  
 anie particular discourse therof, that I was in  
 despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at  
 all concerning that realme, otherwise than  
 incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the  
 same in the historie of England. At length  
 yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie  
 hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, where-  
 with I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two bookes of the  
 Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn  
 Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were  
 to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby  
 to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselfe  
 confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short  
 time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at  
 the perswasion of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to  
 make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of o-  
 ther regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, ex-  
 cept in places where I had matter to enlarge that (out of other authors) which he  
 had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I  
 esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cam-  
 brensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which  
 that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to  
 bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Ri-  
 chard Stanilhurst, to continue it from thence forward as he saw occasion, being fur-  
 nished with matter to enlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my  
 selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue  
 done



## The Epistle.

doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceiue. For the imperfection  
sith it is the first that hath beene set forth in print, I craue most humble pardon of  
your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the per-  
fectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing  
thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all,  
and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of  
Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made  
dedication of this booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conue-  
nientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, be-  
ing hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I ex-  
hibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold at-  
tempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more  
amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered  
good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to fur-  
nish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate  
and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir ma-  
iesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conse-  
quentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse  
of the true and loiall subiects of  
that realme.

Your honors most humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.





# THE

Irish historie composed and written by Giraldus Cambrensis, and translated into English (with scholies to the same) by Iohn Hooker of the citie of Excester gentleman; together with the supplie of the said historie, from the death of king Henrie the eight, vnto this present yeere 1587, doone also by the said Iohn Hooker :

And dedicated to the honorable sir Walter Raleigh knight, lord warden of the stannarie in the counties of Deuon and Cornwall.

1. Esdras. 4.

And king Artaxerxes commanded the chronicles to be searched whether it were true that had bene informed.

Acts. 17.

And they daillie searched the scriptures whether the things taught were true or not.

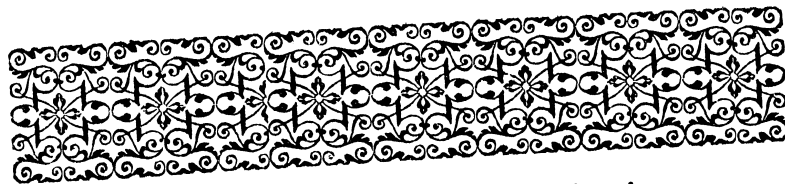
*Historia placant nostrates ac peregrina.*



¶ The authors out of whom this historie of  
*Ireland hath beene gathered.*

Giraldus Cambrensis.  
Flatsburie.  
Henricus Marleburgensis.  
Saxo Grammaticus.  
Albertus Crantz.  
Rogerus Houeden.

Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.  
Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus  
Higeden.  
Iohannes Bale.  
Edmund Campion.  
Records and rolles diuers.

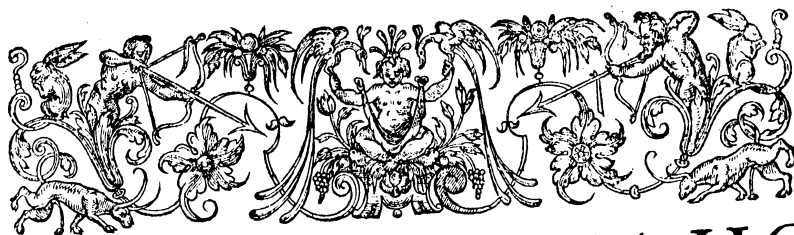


The contents of the chapters following  
*in the description of Ireland.*

- 1 The names of Ireland, with the compasse of the same, also what shires or counties it containeth, the diuision or partition of the land, and of the language of the people. Chap. 1.
- 2 Of the nature of the soile and other incidents. Chap. 2.
- 3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs, and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3.
- 4 Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland. Chap. 4.
- 5 Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities. Chap. 5.
- 6 The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countrie of Ireland. Chap. 6.
- 7 The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7.
- 8 The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish. Chap. 8.

A. 3.





TO THE RIGHT HO-  
norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,  
lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president  
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and  
one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir  
realme of England.



My verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late,  
that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue  
throughlie imploied themselves, in culling and packing togi-  
ther the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. A-  
mong which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion,  
maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe,  
in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that coun-  
trie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either  
his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not  
been longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer  
his historie, that notwithstanding Thersites were a crabbed  
and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed,  
and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand  
to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the vali-  
ant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set  
forth the ouglie dandepat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Thersites, than to be the Alex-  
ander of that dolish rithmour, which undertooke with his wooden verses to blase his famous and mar-  
tiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and couragi-  
ous Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so upright  
in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well asu-  
red to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare  
a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so huddled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute  
perfection, it seemed rather to be a worke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground  
the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue  
been swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen stron-  
ger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching  
wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle toon-  
ged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twitiled more tales out  
of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer  
search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the  
historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich  
maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course  
packthred could not haue beene sutablie knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, bungerlie  
to botch up a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclai-  
med from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in  
that craggie and balkish wase, as the truth of the matter being forprised, I would neither openlie  
borrow, nor priuie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering  
Wherevpon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie man  
his trauell, I was contented to leane them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vsuall  
and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good maners, like a flittering flie to fall in an other man  
his

## The Epistle.

his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie mewed within my closet, but it slipped out at one chinke or other, and croued so farre abroad, as it was whifpered in their eares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to uphold, dealt verie effectuallie with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my native countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giving my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieft discourse, with a ragged historie of a ragged weale. here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieft discourse, with a ragged historie of a ragged weale. here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieft discourse, with a ragged historie of a ragged weale. take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, above all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, leuement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, leuement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, leuement. alitie exalted, hauineesse disliked, courtesie beloued, briberie detested, iustice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, can not bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselves from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreat and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generally to haue all those qualitties in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euents worthie to be remembered, and sundrie sound examples dailie to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behauiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiuallrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderlie nicd, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, for sooth, digest the grosse drasse of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthinesse of the Island, will be soone perswaded to leane such quaint and licentious repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner vnbroide the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shall craue your lordship to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eies in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

RICHARD STANIHURST.



The length and breadth of Ireland. Girald. Cambren. lib. 1. topog. dist. 1. rub. a. Polycl. lib. 1. cap. 32.

The name of Ireland.



# A TREATISE CON-

teining a plaine and perfect description of Ire-

land, with an Introduction to the better vnderstan-

ding of the histories appertaining to that Iland:

compiled by Richard Stanburth.

The names of Ireland, with the com-  
passe of the same, also what shires or coun-  
ties it containeth, the diuision or  
partition of the land, and of  
the language of  
the people.

The first chapter.



The length  
and breadth of  
Ireland, Cam-  
brensis lib. 1.  
topog. dist. 1.  
lib. 1. cap. 32.

The more part aswel  
of Cosmo-  
graphers,  
as Chrono-  
graphers,  
do with on  
accorde as-  
sume, that  
the nation  
of Ireland  
(the utter-  
most wea-  
sterne Ile  
known) is  
halfe as big as Britanmia. Which I take to be true,  
if the word Britanmia so farre displate the significati-  
on, that it compasse England, Wales, and Scotland.  
To which opinion Geraldus Cambrensis relieth, say-  
ing, that Britanmia containeth in length eight hun-  
dred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland  
he taketh to be in length from the mountains called  
Torach (the author of Polydoron termeth them  
Brendane his hills) to saint Columbe his place  
eight daies iourneys, rating of long Irish miles for-  
tie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin  
to saint Patrick his hills, and the sea of Connaght  
four daies iourneys, according to the foriner rate: So  
as by Cambrensis his suruay, who was a curious  
inseacher therof, Ireland is three hundred and three  
miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three  
score miles broad. And accounting three hundred and  
thwente Irish miles to amount to foure hundred  
English miles, which may well be reckoned accor-  
ding to the indgements that haue travelled in the  
Irish territories, Ireland will be found halfe as big  
as Britanmia: which Geraldus Cambrensis also adueth,  
saying, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scot-  
land. Ireland bath on the east, England, within one  
daies sailing; on the southeast it bath France; Wis-  
paine on the south, distant three daies sailing; on the  
west the maine ocean sea.

The name  
Ibernia

Touching the name Ibernia, helio-graphers

are not yet agreed from whence it is deducted. Some  
write it Hibernia corruptie, and suppose that the  
strangers finding it in an od end of the world, soile  
and moistie, took it at the first for a verie cold coun-  
trie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the  
Winter land. But this error being vpon short expe-  
rience reformed, it could not be that the name should  
haue liued long, especiallie the first impositors surui-  
uing the triall, and able to alter the first nomination.  
Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Ir,  
Ireland.  
lamale. But because I read nothing of them in ante  
probable historie, I purpose not to build vpon that  
coniecture.

Most credible it is holden, that the Hispaniards  
(the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards  
Hispanie, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of  
Iubal, and the rather, for that themselves had dwel-  
led beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land  
Iberia (for so Leland and manie forren chronicles  
write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for diffe-  
rence sake. And from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland,  
or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland:  
for somuch as in corruption of common talke we  
find that (n) with his vocale is easilie lost and suppli-  
ed; so we saie ere for euer, nere for nener, shole for  
shouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, bile for diuell. At  
the same time it was also named Scotia, in reus-  
rence of Scotach the wife of Cathelus, ancient cap-  
taine of those Iberians that fitted from Hispanie  
into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandfame  
to Iberus and Hermon after the Scottish chroni-  
cles, who in this wise will haue their countreim  
deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons.  
The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken  
for that part of Britaine that compasseth Scotland,  
that diuerse ancient Irish authors are holden to be  
borne in Scotland, whereas in verie deed their nation  
solle is Ireland. As the famous schole man Jo-  
hannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named Doct of subtil-  
ties, for his subtil quiddities in scholasticall contro-  
uersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken  
for a Scot.

Ireland.

Iberus the  
Hispani-  
rriuer.

Leland in  
cyg. cant.

Scotie,  
Scotach,  
Cathelus.

Iohan. maior.  
Scot. lib. 1. ca. 9.

Iohannes do-  
minus Scotus  
borne in Ire-  
land.

why schol-  
men are cal-  
led Dunel.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Dun-  
mon, a market towne five miles distant from  
Wellesford. Others aduise, and that more trulie,  
that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient citie  
in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him  
to be named: Dunensis, and by contraction Dunis,  
which tearme is so tritall and common in all scholes,  
that who so farpasse others either in caualting for  
erie, or subtil philosophie, is forthwith nicknamed a  
Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia mil-  
nor,



Scotia maior.  
Scotia minor.

Gandell.

Banno.

The rince  
Banne.

Bagganbun.

Inuerna.  
Joan. Camer-  
tes in cap. 35.  
Solus.

Hermol. Barb.  
ca. 16 in lib. 4.  
Plin. cap. 3.  
The name Ir-  
ish and Ire-  
land curiously  
derived.

1. Lagenia.  
2. Connaria.  
3. Hultonaria.  
4. Momonia.  
5. Media.  
West Heth  
& east Heth.

Hebrides.

The shires  
and counties  
of Ireland.

An. mun. 2533.  
Cambren.  
lib. 1. dist. 3.  
rub. 5. & 6.

nor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head  
from whence the name of Scotia minor took his of-  
spring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid  
Gandellus, or Gaudellus, Gaudell. In their Irish  
rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I  
cannot diuine what reason should lead their makers  
thereto, vntlesse it be the river in the countie of Wex-  
ford, named the Banne, where the Britons vpon the  
conquest first arrived. The place otherwile is called  
Bagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme:

At the creeke of Bagganbun,  
Ireland was lost and wun.

For the remembrance of which river so notoriouſlie  
famosed, it carrieth great likelihood, that the name  
should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed.  
Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuerna, or  
thers luerna, diuerſe Ijerna. Claudius nameth it  
Iberna. The diuerſitie of which names grew, for that  
in their time the true and certaine name was not  
knowne, so that they were contented to take it as  
they found it, which matter is handled by Hermo-  
laus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in ſeu-  
ring the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would  
be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen.  
But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctions  
may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher;  
that offered to haue sold his mutton for ſix ſixene grots,  
and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate  
vpon such nice diuerſities, in respect that he is aſha-  
med of his countie; trulle (in mine opinion) his  
countie maie be aſhamed of him. Ireland is diui-  
ded into foure regions, Leinster, east: Connaght,  
west: Ulster, north: Mounſter, south: and into a ſix  
plot, beſet from euery fourth part, and yet inca-  
ring on each part, called thereof Media, Heth,  
compiſing as well east Heth, as west Heth. Lein-  
ſter butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottiſh  
Iſlands: which face wiſh Hebrides ſcattered be-  
tweene both the realms, where in at this daie the Irish  
Scot, ſucceſſor of the elder Scythian, Iſid, or Iſid-  
ſhanke dwelleth. Each of these ſix, where they are fra-  
mable to ciuillitie, & answer the wits of the princes  
courts, be ſundred into ſhires or counties in this ma-  
ner. In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kil-  
dare, Wexſeford or Queſſeford, Catherlagh, Kilkernie,  
the counties of Leſſe & Dphalie, called the kings  
and queenes counties: these two latelie ſo named by  
parlement, in the reſignes of Philip and Marie, ha-  
uing ſhire towne accordant, Philips towne, and  
Marie borough. Connaght hath the countie Clare:  
Ulster the counties of Louth, Downe, Antrim, one  
morie of the towne of Droghedagh for the rest is in  
Heth and Carregfergus. In Mounſter lie the coun-  
ties of Waterford, Limerike, Coſke, the countie  
palantine of Tipperarie, Berie, & the croſſe of Tippe-  
rarie. Mounſter was of old time diuided into east  
Mounſter, Dimond, west Mounſter, Deſmond, south  
Mounſter, Conmound. The occasion why Ireland  
was parted into these ſix principall regions grew  
of this. There arrived in Ireland ſix brethren, that  
were valiant & martiall gentlemen; to wit, Gandus,  
Gonandus, Sagandus, otherwile named Gangan-  
bus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These  
ſix perceiving that the countie was not ſufficient-  
lie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to caſt lots, and  
to ſhare the whole realme betwene themſelues. The  
four elder brethren ſenering the countie into foure  
parts, and being loſt to the their yongest brother  
like an outcaſt or Depſonne, condeſcended that each  
of them ſhould of their owne portion allot to  
Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance.  
Which being as heartlie receiued of Slanius, as it  
was bountifullie granted by them, he ſetled himſelfe

therein, and of that partition it took the appellation  
of Media, Heth. The foure parts met at a certaine  
ſtone at Heth, where the caſtell of Kilaire, as an in-  
different meate to ſeuere the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the  
leaſt parcell, yet in ſhort ſpace he ſtood ſo well to his  
tacklings, and inſcroched ſo far vpon his neighbors,  
that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At  
which time he did not ſuppreſſe in obliuion his inheri-  
tance of Heth; but did enlarge it, and decreed it  
ſhould be a countie appendant to the monarchie his  
diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by  
Slanius ſtretched, yet it containeth not ſo much land  
as anie of the other foure parts compendeth;  
but rather by indifferent ſquare, the halfe, deale,  
whereof alſo it is not vniſkellie named Heth. For  
whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure  
parts compriſeth two and thirtie cantreds, Heth  
containeth but ſixtene cantreds. A cantred is named  
ſo much land as containeth an hundred townſhipps.  
This Slanius is intomed at an hill in Heth, which  
of him is named Slane. There hath bene in an-  
cient time one Galfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie  
of Heth. This noble man became a frier preacher,  
and deſeſed in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twen-  
tiſh of October, and was intomed in the abbey of  
the Blacke friers at Trim.

There is alſo another diuiſion of Ireland, into the  
Engliſh pale, and Irithrie. For when Ireland was  
ſubdued by the Engliſh, diuerſe of the conquerors  
planted themſelues nere to Dublin, and the con-  
fines thereto adioining, and ſo as it were incloſing  
and impaling themſelues within certaine liſe and  
territories, they ſeazed awaie the Irish; inſomuch  
as that countie became mere Engliſh, and there-  
of it was termed the Engliſh pale: which in ancient  
time ſtretched from Dandalke to Catherlagh or  
Kilkernie. But now what for the ſlackneſſe of mar-  
chours, and inſcroching of the Irish enimie, the ſcope  
of the Engliſh pale is greatly impaired, & is cram-  
perned and coucht into an od corner of the countie  
named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land,  
Heth, the counties of Kildare and Louth, which  
parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and  
taken for the richeſt and ciueſt ſoſes in Ireland.  
But Fingall eſpectallie from time to time hath bin  
ſo addited to all the points of husbandrie, as that  
they are nicknamed by their neighbours, for their  
continuall boudgerie, Colonnies, of the Latine word  
Coloni, whereunto the clapt Engliſh word clowne  
ſemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall countervailleth in Engliſh  
the race or ſeſt of the Engliſh or ſtrangers, for that  
they were ſolie ſeized of that part of the Iſland, gri-  
ping with their talants to ſettle that waime neſt,  
that from the conquest to this daie the Irish enimie  
could neuer rouſe them from thence. The inhabi-  
tants of the Engliſh pale have bene in old time ſo  
much addited to their ciuillitie, and ſo ſarre ſequeſ-  
red from barbarous ſauagenelle, as their onlie mo-  
ther tongue was Engliſh. And trulle, ſo long as theſe  
impaled dwellers did ſunder themſelues as well in  
land as in language from the Irish: rudeneſſe was  
daie by daie in the countie ſupplanted; ciuillitie  
graſſed, good lawes eſtabliſhed, loſaltie obſerued, ry-  
bellion ſuppreſſed; and in ſhorte ſpace the coine of a yong  
England was like to that in Ireland. But when  
their poſteritie became not altogether ſo warie in  
keeping, as their anceſſors were valiant in conquer-  
ing, the Irish language was free deniſhed in the  
Engliſh pale: this canker took ſuch deepe root, as  
the bodie that before was whole and ſound, was by  
little and little feſtered, and in maner whole putrified.  
And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to that

Wellford  
where the  
Irish  
the pall.

The ſateng  
of a noble man  
touching the  
Engliſh of  
Wellſore.

Did Engliſh  
in Wellſore  
and Fingall.

Water.

The ppon-  
tation of the  
Irish women

Fingall  
collected  
in Dublin  
Colonnies  
of Fingall  
Colonnies

Fingall  
so named

The countie  
of Ireland  
ancient name

The ſup-  
tion of the  
Irish

# The description of Ireland.

11

Welshford  
the  
the  
the

The saying of  
a noble man  
touching the  
English of  
Welshford.

And English  
in Welshford  
and Fingall.

Sater.

The pronun-  
tiation of the  
Irish women.

The supersti-  
tion of gam-  
blers.

that chailtie, but also Wlster and the greater part of  
Pounster, as by the sequels of the Irish historie  
shall plainly appere. But of all other places, Wel-  
ford with the territorie baied and perclosed within  
the river called the Pill, was so quite estranged  
from Irishie, as if a traveller of the Irish (which  
was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within  
the Pill and spoken Irish, the Welshfordians would  
command him forthwith to turne the other end of  
his tong and speake English, or els bring his trouch-  
man with him. But in our daies they haue so ac-  
quainted themselves with the Irish, as they haue  
made a mingled mangle or gallimaufrey of both the  
languages, and haue in such meblete or checkerwise  
so crabbledie tumbled them both together, as com-  
monlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake  
neither god English nor god Irish.

There was of late daies one of the pères of En-  
gland sent to Welshford as commissioner, to decide  
the controuersies of that countrie; and hearing in  
affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie  
clotons, he concluded here & there sometime a word,  
other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie  
glad, that vpon his first comming to Ireland, he un-  
derstood so manie words, told one of his familiar  
friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become  
shortlie a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing  
that the blunt people had pzattled Irish, all the while  
they tangled English. Whereto it this daie, the  
dregs of the old ancient Chancer English are kept  
as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider,  
an attorcop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a poc-  
ket, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a coppous, a faggot, a  
bleafe, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I  
iudge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a thard, a base court  
or quardangle, a balwen, or rather (as I do suppose) a  
barton, the household or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéne,  
estrangle, uncouth, easie, etsy or ése, a dunghill, a mi-  
zen. As for the word bater, that in English purpo-  
seth a lane, bearing to an high waite, I take it for a  
máre Irish word that crept inwaies into the En-  
glish, through the daillie intercourse of the English  
and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie  
in all countries the women speake most neatlie and  
pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, spea-  
king in the person of Crassus seemed to haue obser-  
ued: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out  
contrarie. For the women haue in their English  
tong an harsh & biode kind of pronuntiation, with  
uttering their words so péuillie and faintlie, as  
though they were halfe sicke, and ready to call for a  
posset. And most commonlie in words of two syl-  
lables they giue the last the accent: as they saie,  
markeat, balkeat, goscoupe, pusscoat, Kobart, Pi-  
clase, &c: which doubtes doth disbeautifie their En-  
glish above measure. And if they could be weaned  
from that corrupt custome, there is none that could  
dislike of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me  
at rebound, and snufflingie snib me for debasing the  
Irish language: but trulie, whosoener shall be found  
so ouerthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre a-  
woie. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I  
would be loth to disuelse my rashnes, in giuing light  
berdia in anie thing to me vnknownen: but onelie  
my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not  
expedient that the Irish tong should be so briuer,  
sallie gaged in the English pale: because that by  
prose and experience we see, that the pale was neuer  
in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie  
English, and neuer in worse plight than since it  
hath enfranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that  
I shew my selfe herein as frinolous as some losing  
gamblers some superstitious, when they plaie them-

selues drie, they gogle with their eles hisher and sta-  
ther, and if they can prie out anie one that giueth  
them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowzing,  
fretting and fuming, so: that they imagine that all  
their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the  
stander by depart, the loser may be found as drie  
shauen as he was before. And euen so it fareth with  
you, because you see all things run to ruine in the  
English pale, by reason of great enozimities in the  
countrie, either openlie pzactised, or couertlie win-  
ked at; you glanse your eie on that which standeth  
next you, & by beating Jacke for Will, you impute  
the fault to that which perhaps would little further  
the weale publike if it were cryed. Now trulie you  
shoot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue  
your patience till time you see me shot my bolt, I  
hope you will not denie, but that as néere the picke  
as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the  
scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this  
with you, that a conquest dzaweth, or at the leastwise  
ought to dzaw to it thre things, to wit, law, apparell,  
and language. For where the countrie is subdued,  
there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same  
law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the  
same fashon of attire therewith the victor is vested,  
and speake the same language that the vanquisher  
parleth. And if anie of these thre lacke, doublelesse the  
conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin  
by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of  
England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his  
reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the dis-  
course of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deci-  
phered) and the conquest hath bene so absolute and  
perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Wlster, the more  
part of Connagh and Pounster, all the ciuities and  
burroughs in Ireland haue bene wholie Englished,  
and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent  
(thinke you) that their owne ancient native tong  
shall be shrowded in obliuion, and suffer the enemies  
language, as it were a tetter or ringtwoime, to har-  
bor it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors?  
No trulie.

A conquest  
implyeth thre  
things.

And now that I haue fallen inwaies into this  
discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand some-  
what roundlie vpon this point. It is knownen, and  
by the historie you may in part perceiue, how haue-  
lie Wlster whilom flourishd. The English families  
were there implanted, the Irish either vtterlie ex-  
pelled or wholie subdued, the lawes duly executed,  
the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But  
what brought it to this present ruine and decate? I  
doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were  
inuiroined and compassed with euill neighbours.  
Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance  
wasted in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it  
attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered  
ignozance, ignozance brought contempt of lawes,  
the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion ra-  
ked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the vtter  
decate and desolation of that woorthie countrie. If  
these things, when first they began to chap, had bene  
diligentlie by the dwellers stoped; hir maiestie at  
this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue bene  
occasioned to dam by with manie thousand pounds,  
yea and with the woorthie carcases of valiant soul-  
dors, the gaps of that rebellious northerne coun-  
trie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as fa-  
cred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greeke, as  
fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as  
courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the  
French; yet trulie (I knowe not which to aie it falleth  
out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the  
English pale. And if reason will not lead you to  
thinke

## The description of Ireland.

thinke it, tralle experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Greeke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Greeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time steep in yeares, perceiuing his countrymen to be come changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkatine, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners hautte, in promises bulledfast, in othe rash, in bargains waunering (which were reckoned for Greekish properties in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it, said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had bene now living, and had seene what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more giuen to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must imbrace their language, and they delect ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneille that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English: What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneille his honor to wylth his mouth in clattering English? and yet forsooth we must gag our salues in gibblishing Irish? But I dwell too long in so apparant a matter. As all the ciuities & towne in Ireland, with Kingall, the king his land, & Meth, the countie of Beldare, Louth, Westford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, upon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in thre or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes woith of English, and so packt by the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

I find it solemnilie aduouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuisd the Irish language out of all other tongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gathelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches togither, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talke, I am rather led to beleue (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the diuision of tongs) that Baffolennus a branch of Iaphet, who first seized upon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babel. And to whom succeeded the Scithians, Grecians, Egyp- tians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borrowed part, but especiallie reteining the steps of Spanish then spoken in Canado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Ven- rle Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be diu- en to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the space of seuentene hundred yeares after the arrival of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Commestato, that is, What do you? or how fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argen- tum*, monie; falle of *sal*, salt; capponle of *caballus*, a

plough horse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or caple; birreat of the old modera- ten Latine word *birretum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Where- fore their common testers and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinge the thes that concerne the grace and proprietie of the tong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or vnderstand it. Therefore it is preserved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie deed the lan- guage carrieth such difficultie with it, wh it for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious features of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the coun- trie can attaine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forrener or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was pos- sessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language sauing the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grauelled there- with. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he toke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned fiend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint Iohn the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Saie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the a- posses in their copious mart of languages at Jeru- salem could haue spoken Irish, if they were appo- sed: whereat the companie heartilie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the Eng- lish. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vntill there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure sholuds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a doublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but one- lie they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morn- ing.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for Inane. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putavi. Quemenim nos ineptum vocamus, si mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptum, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinuus aut multus est, ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumalata est eruditissima Graecorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Graeci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Ut enim quatuor omnia, quomodo Graeci ineptum appellent, non re- peries.*

Certes I haue bene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologic or offspring of his name here hence deriued, that he is not apt; which stretch- eth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our daile speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is fitting or decent for euerie sen- son, or gableth more than he hath commission to do, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise set- teth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

Cicilib. 2. de  
orat.

Oneille whie  
he would not  
learne Eng-  
lish.

Camb. lib. 1.  
dist. 3. rub. 3.  
The founder  
of the Irish  
language.

Baffolennus.

Epiphani. cont.  
har. lib. 1.  
r. com. 1.

Saras.

Saurines.

The old  
neuterna  
Irish.

The diuine  
tie.

Rude. lib. 2.  
de Ale. &  
pau. eue.

John.  
book 14.

Irish boaght

fough.

The word  
the Irish.

Bo Irish  
word for  
Inane.

Lib. 2. de  
Inupia.

Aqua vice.

Theoric. E  
Hermener  
in Romani  
iuxta Boni  
am.

The com-  
dities of A  
qua vice.

# The description of Ireland.

13

the bryth, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whom he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or over tedious in any matter, he is termed *Ineptus*; which is as much in English, in my phantasie, as faulcie, or malapert. The famous & learned Græke nation is generallie duffed with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spie the enormitie thereof, they haue not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ranfacke the whole Græke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrenesse, but that the Græke word *δυνατός* is equipollent to *Ineptus*; but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned; being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish tong, euerie countrie hauing his dialect or peculiar manner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a propertie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuoid of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaught hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interfection vied in the Irish language called *Boagh*, which is as much in English as twilly. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghies, or pogh Porrice. Which taunting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interfection, *Fough*, which is vied in lothing a ranke or strong fauour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

## Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

### The second chapter.

**T**he soile is low and watery, including diuerse little Islands, inuironed with lakes & marishes. Highest hills haue standing poles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and flures. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vite*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confectiōs do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vite*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth three sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingredients thereto belonging. He teacheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth vp the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh woomes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoweth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith daillie washt before meales. Being moderately taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it entethy flegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it reliseth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropisie, it bealeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preferueth the head from whirling, the eyes from dazeling, the tong from lisping, the mouth from maffling, the

teeth from chattering, and the throte from rattling: it keepeth the weasan from stiling, the stomach from wambing, and the heart from swelling, the bellie from wretching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shivering, & the sinewes from shynking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vltadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the godnesse thereof. And trulie it is a soueraigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtil as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flauanders. The countrie is stozed with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by hearefaie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They lacke the Robucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the pie. Wholbeit in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a sic cōfener, a wilie pie. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excess of wood, verie little champagne ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most setwell and seacole. No venomous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venomous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the meadowes of Waterford somethat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Bede writeth, that serpents conued into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoever came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who dranke in water the scrapings of bores that had bene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it late long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene: the said controuersie was decided, that for so much as venomous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Wyndesore is adiudged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Islands, neither breed nor foster any venomous worme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had vnladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their ballast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnto an insupportable, & horrible after turning by their bellies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue seene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incamped with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, induozing to haue skipt ouer it, suddenlie reculed backe, as though it had bene ropt in the head: whereupon it began to spall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thrille, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it stunk awaie in the presence of sundrie persons.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of poughers took a nap in the fields: as one of their late snoozing with his mouth gaping, as though he would haue

Vist. in celo philol. vel de lect. et. nat. cap. 11.

Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.

the pie. Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.

No bene-mous worme in Ireland.

Camb. part. 1. dist. 1.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hist. cap. 1.

The controuersie of the Ile of Man betwix.

Wyndesore appendant to Ireland. Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Cambr. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.

Cam. ibid. rub. 30. 31.

Irish leather expelleth venomous wormes.

Camb. in eo-dem loco.

haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder  
slit into his mouth, and glided downe into his be-  
lie, where harbozing it selfe, it began to roame vp  
and downe and to feed on the yong man his entrails.  
The patient being sore distracted and aboue mea-  
sure tormented with the biting pangs of this gre-  
die ghest, incessantly prayed to God, that if it stood  
with his gracious will, either whole to bereaue him  
of his life, or else of his unspeakable merrie to ease  
him of his paine. The worne would neuer cease  
from gnawing the patient his carcase, but when he  
had taken his repast, and his meat was no longer  
digested, than it would giue a fresh onset in bozing  
his guts. Diuerse remedies were sought, and medi-  
cines, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not pre-  
uaile. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise  
of some sage and expert father, that wished him to  
make his speedie repaire to Ireland, would tract no  
time, but barked himselfe ouer sea, and arrived in  
Ireland. He did no longer bittke of the water of  
that land, and taken of the bittels of Ireland,  
but forthwith he kild the snake, auoided it downe-  
ward, and so being lostie and luelie he returned in-  
to England. This far Giraldus Cambrensis.

whether be-  
nemoius  
wormes were  
expelled Ire-  
land through  
the prayers of  
saint Patrike.

Polychr. lib. 1.  
cap. 32.

There be some that more question, whether the  
want of venenous wormes be to be imputed to the  
propertie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the prayers  
of saint Patrike, who converted that land. The  
greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie  
such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend  
of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth  
flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or  
hidden propertie naturallie bitted to the soile, from  
whom Polychronicon doth not swaue. For my part  
as I am inebbed to neither of both the opinions, so  
I would haue bene easilie perswaded, being neither  
hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarmer  
neuter, in omitting the one and the other bittand,  
were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some o-  
ther that masketh vnder his visours, more stan-  
derouslie than pithille had bitted himselfe therein.  
Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend  
my native countrie, than he or his betters may re-  
proue it, especiallie where his standerous reports  
are underpopt with slim slim surmises: I purpose  
vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buc-  
kle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to  
the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And be-  
cause (gentle reader) I mind to make thee an indif-  
ferent bimpier in this controuersie, for the better vn-  
derstanding of the matter, I will late downe ma-  
ster Cope his words, in such wise as they are im-  
printed in his booke. First therefore thou must vn-  
derstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise,  
a kind of witting as it is vled, so commended of the  
learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an English-  
man and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts.  
Irenæus entresth into the stage, and in this wise be-  
ginneeth.

Alan. Coptus  
dialog. 3.  
acd. 28.

*Incipiam a sancto Paulo: nosti in Melita (quam hodie  
Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam a manu pendente in  
ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales,  
Pauli, ut creditur, munere sunt innoxij.*

Critobulus. Fortasse hoc habet a natura.

Irenæus. Fulleris: nam insulani, ut Lucas refert, clama-  
bunt, delatum eo parvicidum, cui cum mare peperisset, irati  
disperentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam ma-  
gis quam presentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cum  
ille tantum abesset, ut nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde  
sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longe supra  
hominem esse, & deum sub humana specie.

Critobulus. Sic est, ut dicis.

Irenæus. Cetera itaque audi. E specu ad quem diuersif-  
se dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa salutares

*Adhuc quos nasci octauo calendæ Februarij contingit (qui di-  
es conuersionis eius memoria dicatus est) quæcunque eos orbis  
pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, amo,  
quod magis est, sola salua horum morsibus medentur. Id quod  
homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper Thomæ  
prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certis, infallit, exemplis ab eo Fa-  
cellus obseruatum.*

Critobulus. Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: et  
iam recorder, me legisse ac sapius audisse, precibus beati Patris.  
10 cij Hibernia apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne  
ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Dicit fortasse inde a nonnullis  
soler, nihil esse in Hibernia venenati præter ipsos homines,  
quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum a plerisque  
accipitur.

Irenæus. Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum  
alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Bedæ intelligo.  
adeo ut terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata  
animalia extinguat. Verum id quicquid est, non Patrio, sed  
naturæ regionis tribuo, propterea quod longè ante Patricium  
20 natum constet, eam fuisse eius regionis dotem, quam non est  
difficile alibi reperiri.

I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule.  
You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called  
Malta) saint Paule slung into the fire a viper that  
stucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that land coo-  
pions which are elsewhere deadlie or venenous, are  
become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is sup-  
posed) harmelesse.

Thus (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase  
30 incident to the nature of the soile.

Paule then (replieth Irenæus) you are in a wrong  
bor. For the Islanders (as saint Luke mentioneth)  
thoited, that a parent quellos was brought thither,  
and because he was not swallowed in the gulles of  
the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent  
serpents to slay him. And they looked for nothing  
sooner than to see him even at a twinkling to perish.  
But when they perceived him to be so farre distant  
from death, as that he sustained no harme, ne felt a-  
ny paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far  
surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuessed  
40 in man his thape.

You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you  
haue hit the nail on the head.

Yea but I praye you clip not my tale (saith Ire-  
næus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the  
caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue bal-  
ted or sojourned, which stones in maner in all Europe  
are soueraigne medicines to cure the bitings and  
50 stings of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore,  
they that are bozne the five and twentieth of Ianna-  
rie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule)  
in that part soener of the world they are bozne, they  
feare not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is  
more to be admired, the stings of poisoned worms  
are healed by the vertie spittle of this Iannarie bzad.  
Which thing hath bene of late published by a well  
lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curi-  
ouslie noted of him, as well by prose and experience,  
as by sure and substantia examples, if I take not  
the matter amisse.

Then commeth in Critobulus, whose maister  
Cope maketh I will not saie the vice or bickomer)  
but the pleasant conceipted gentleman of this enter-  
lude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could  
not lunge so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and fra-  
meth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie  
sir, here is stufte worth the noting. And now I call  
to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the  
like benefit hath bene imparted to Ireland, through  
the prayers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said I-  
land, that is to saie, that Ireland bzedeth no vene-  
mous worne. And thereupon percase some are ac-  
customed to saie, that there is no poisoned or vene-  
mous

Indgement.

Exod. 7.  
ver. 10.

1. Ios. c. 10.  
ver. 13.  
2. Reg. 17.  
ver. 22. an.  
Ecclef. 48.  
ver. 10.  
3. Act. 3. ver.  
4. Act. 9. ver.  
5. Act. 5. ver.  
6. Act. 14.  
ver. 13.  
7. Act. 20.  
ver. 10. &  
8. Act. 27.  
ver. 23.  
9. Act. 9. ver.  
10. Act. 18. ver.

Aug. tra.  
in Iohann.  
Th. p. 39.  
a. 3. ad. 3.

Gen. 3. v.



neither in Ireland, but onely the people, which is taken to haue bene said of most men for their brutish and sauage manners.

To this (saith Irenaeus) I am come to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venomous thing is bred in that realme: in so much that the verie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killeth all venomous and poisoned worms. But let the matter fall out which waite it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath ben knowne long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indured with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Whitherto Paule Cope.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that Paule Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in destroying venomous worms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in anie wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle therein, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to dispoone his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuer into bloud, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to Iosue, to staie the sun; to Elias to raise the dead child; to Peter to make the lame go; to heale Eneas; to reuiue Tabitha; yea with his verie shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whose matter Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the lame go; to quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to saue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodnes to anie region, even the sooner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for longing to happie a guest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harborough to blessed a traveller or passenger as Paule. Which saint Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Island, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were thre daies verie courteously interteined, was by saint Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Islanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but chieflie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our sauiour Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therefore the learned hold opinion, that saint Paule being in Malta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that deceived our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to insert, as a clause not wholly swarming from that we treat of, and also that I would be found quick and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as Paule Cope hath so stricte dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing appertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the historie of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one disapproved, so his slanderous iudgement maie be in the other reuered. First therefore where he toucheth, that the inhabitants of Malta *clamabant*, that is, cried, or shouted, it was not so. The Greeke text runneth,

*ἡμεῖς οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is, to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not amolte Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant cum offe deum*; They turning the one towards the other, whispred or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as Paule saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his cares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bene whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be deceived? No trulie. He would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Aikris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, reuolting their clothes, they rusht into the throng, crying and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place saint Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwene both the words, *Clamantes & dicentes*. Paule addeth further, *Delatum est per accidens*, and yet the Greeke hath *πρότερον φωνήεν, omnino interfectum*, or as the vulgar text is, *utique homicida est homo hic*. So that they took him to be but a manquello, yet Paule Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although enerie parricide be a manquello, yet *E conuerso*, enerie manquello is not a parricide.

Paule Cope proceedeth further, *Tristis est, serpentes, qui eum rollerent, immisit*: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainlie exprest in the text, vntill Paule Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apostle should haue bene thought to haue fittened. As a parson his the parson; that preached to his parishoners of the good sermon, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wildernesse. (Quoth the parson) What a Christ was that, that with fine barlie loanes, and fine fishes fed fine hundred persons. The clerk hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole vp to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whispred in his eare that Christ fed fine thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beleue me. So it saith with Paule Cope. Belike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the vntuth of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plural for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with Paule Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetorickall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, sholwing, a manquello, a parricide, one viper, serpents: he must be bozne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a litle aboze in the remnant of his discourse. For thus he saith.

And thereupon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venomous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage manners. Here (good reader) thou must vnderstand that Paule Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland venomous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue ben spoken for their brutish and sauage conditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I undertake you, suitable to the text. But

Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of Malta.

Act. 14. vers. 12, 13, 14.

Paule Cope his rhetorick.



let vs see, how cunninglie *M. Cope* bequitheth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum persone*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he sheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these tapes and gibes are onelie fit for ruffians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots. And trulie they beset a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to stricke trenchmore in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen mistooked in an orator *Squiritie*, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint *Paule* would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Unlesse *M. Cope* leaning to the letter of saint *Paule* his words would beare vs in hand, that saint *Paule* would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which doth imple, that we ought not to slander our neighbors.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, thoroughout the greater part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie vpon hearefaie, weicng not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacii*. Thou shalt destroy all them that speake vntruths. And were it that anse such slim slim flirts were soothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that such chydish quips, and scoonefull talents should sooner by his meanes charitable be whistled, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue *M. Cope* to resort to the fist of *Spashelew*, and there peruse *Christ* his verdit touching slanderous tongues. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that *Critabulus*, or *Critebulus*, whome *M. Cope* maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a *Germane* borne, as *M. Cope* saith, who seemeth to be *Critabulus* his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the manners of *Germanes*, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scesse and leorne the conditions and fashions of other countries. I will not speake by hearefaie, as *M. Cope* doth, but by clesight. I could neuer espie nor probable haue I heard it reported, no not of the mere sauage *Irish*, such quaffing, such swelling, such bolling, such gulling, such brutish drunkennesse, such surfetting, such vomiting, as I haue seene some *Germanes* do. In good soth it is knowne, and for my part I haue seene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowling and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs, & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap on their thymd hats, and run like beelem barretors into the streets with their naked flatchets, and there they keepe such a stinking surre with hacking of stones, with hewing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at doores, that it would make a horse bzeake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie openly in his lecture, that drunkennesse in that countrie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie

other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eyes the absurditie of *M. Cope*, in framing poore *Critabulus* to flout *Ireland*, considering that if he cast his eye homeward, he shall find as fit the paddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip sate as vnseemlie in his mouth, as for an whore to reprehend bitcherie, or for an vsurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tolerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can pay no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to mozell by anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdeemeanor of his owne native countrie. I would wish *M. Critabulus* or *M. Cope*, if it shall please him to make vp the matter, with indifferencie to weite the estate of *Ireland*, and so without parcialitie to frame his iudgement.

*Ireland*, and especiallie the ruder part is not so red with such learned men as *Germanie* is. If they had sound preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the imbalming of their carian soules with the sweet and sacred flowers of holie wit, would instruct them in the feare of God, in oberseng their prince, in obseruing the lawes, in vnderpropping in ech man his bo-cation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or three ages *M. Critabulus* his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of *Ireland*, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of *Germanie*. Let the soile be as fertile and bette as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and care it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with god and sound cozne, it will bring forth weeds, bindcozne, cockle, darnell, bzambles, bziers, and sundrie wild shots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of *Ireland*, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoid of all such necessities as apperteine to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so forwardlie set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps, he might be accounted as vncasonable, as he that would force a creple that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a gallop that wanteth his vpper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs wordings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not bitterie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to talwt that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bee by sucking the honie. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for *M. Critabulus* being a *Germane* to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath bene here vttered, and how well the sinewes of *M. Critabulus* his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomie therof by pece meale shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth *M. Critabulus*) that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene granted to *Ireland* through the prayers of *S. Patrike*. *M. Critabulus* read & heard that by the prayers of *S. Patrike*, *Ireland* hath no venemous woyme: *Ergo* some hold opinion, that the poison resteth onelie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth together by vertie strange gimboles. And I dare say, *M. Cope* neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of *Aggabalene* in *Drford*, what so ever *M. Critabulus* did in *Germanie*. But let vs put the loglike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture

de lib. de  
erat.

1. Tim. 3. berf.  
4. 13.

Psalm. 5. ber. 7.  
Exposit. 1.  
Vide August in  
eandem Plal.

Math. 5.  
berf. 22.

The German  
his friendship.

2. Mac. 5. ber.  
1. 2.

Luc. 8. ber. 32.

Luc. 2. ber. 37.

Objection.

Answer.

or in what ancient father *Ph. Critabulus* read or heard (for most of his learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by heare-saie) that ante holie prelat, that came of mere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which doth imple an expectall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous wormes, & leaue the soules that haue more need to be wooed, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Whereby insueeth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saluing of the *Phachabees* must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not chiole the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour *Iesus Christ* dispossessing the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heerd of hogs. *Critabulus* would haue *Christis* saints doe the contrarie, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint *Patrike* to haue done, by riding the land of all poisoned wormes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the *Flawders* might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the *Sergelens* came ingratefullie to *Christ*, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his come had bene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruertering, than the conuerting of their Island.

Whereto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie *Critabulus* hath plaied his part: now shall I desire thee to vied how sagelie *Ireneus* claspeth by all the whole controuerfie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed anie venemous worme, and that was incident thereto before saint *Patrike* was borne. How proue you that sir: Pleasest you to shew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the fise and thirtieth chapter of *Solinus* solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in *Solinus* but this: *Illic anguis nullus, avis rara*. In Ireland is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of *Solinus* furthereth *Ireneus* his opinion. Ireland bred no snake before saint *Patrike* was borne: Ergo it ingendred no toad, no adder, no frog, no anie other virulent worme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint *Patrike* his time there was no horsemill in Ireland: Ergo before his time there was no milhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of *Solinus* is so far from vpholding *Ireneus* his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint *Patrike* was moued to expell all the venemous wormes out of Ireland, might probable haue bene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this: that he perceiuing the land to breed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of christian faith, to expell other kind of wormes that lurked there before his comming, as toades, adders, blindworms, frogs, &c. Here perchase *M. Cope* may blesse me, in replieing that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

In god sooth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifieng a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from plaieng on sundaie, fortified his reason

with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*. It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on sundaies or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) felonie or treason, to bring the credit of *Solinus* in question, for misaking *Anguis* as well as *Auis*? For as he was grosslie deceived in the one, in writing that birds were rare in Ireland; so might he haue straid as likelie in the other, by disburdening Ireland of all venemous wormes, bicause the Island wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and prattling rumour, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such flieing tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as *Solinus* was from Ireland when he wrote his pamphlet. The profe whereof as it is daile tried, so not manie yeares past hath bene verie prettie berefted. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his entrie in the fields, where they both vpon a trilling quarell fought so friendlie, as they had more need to haue bene grappled together with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, bicause the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the meadow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saying, that he was like in time to proue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Wherevpon some after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought valiantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the meadow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies; and I am well assured that was the first fraie that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, unleffe he be forced manure his heart to the contrarie.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I travelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfe penie to be god sinner) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: Now in god faith gentleman (quoth he) you would doe verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his daillie breakfast. By saint *Patrick*, quoth my companion, that is verie cold roste, and if his breakfasts be no better than a peece of cold prion, I little weigh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Pate, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he bleseth to fight fleshy and fasting euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part coulde not restraîne from laughing, seeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide*. Where vpon I shapd him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when fise quarters made vp the yeare.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lobbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight seuerall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) ther belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his fraie his morning

Rumour catches fathers.

It friendlie commendation.

## The description of Ireland.

breakfast, and whereas there are but seauen dales in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one about seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer, & supper; or else you must grant that there be eight dales in one weeke, or at the least two breakfasts in one dale: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. I prae (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Wherby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed up, & his tong let to run at libertie vncontrolld, like a bolle that runneth in a smoth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that bate, as he would not sticke to fate that his friend had fought eight dales in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his prickie grew at length by report to an huge poise, so the want of one venemous worme in Ireland, being bited in foreen realmes, might haue bene so thwarted and mangled in the cariage before it came to Solinus his cares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was deuoid of all venemous wormes, whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward wormes: so of his mercie they are remoued from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaos would not listen to God his threats denounc-  
ed him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharaos his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite ertinguisht: so I prae you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospell, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned wormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a propertie incident there-  
to, according to Christ his promise: *Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, haec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia eijcent: linguis loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocbit: super egros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.* And these tokens shall follow them that be true; In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tonges, they shall dize auaie serpents, and if they dinke anie deadlie thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be dizen auaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be deuoid of poisoned wormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saying of the prophet; *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris, Quod hath bene done by God, and it seemeth wonderfull in our eyes.*

Thus farre (gentle reader) incroching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to dis-  
taine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned wormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the cuttie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waite the wind blotweth, because I see no incommenience that may insue either of the affirma-  
tive or negative opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the author of

Pelychronicon or others, that stood to the demaill, by we come; he should haue gone scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mountebanklike the most he could of his wares. But for that he would needs see further in a millstone than others, and not onelie stenderlie dispoone the triviall opini-  
on, but scornefullie slander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiours in honour, his betters in parentage, his peers in courtesie, his matches in honestie: I must craue him to beare it patientlie, if by crying him quittance, I serued him with a dill of his owne cookerie. And if for this my freit dealing with him (wherevnto I was the sencer led, for that as it is courtesie to mollifie wild speeches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seeme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wolpe his nose on his fleue. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him grobne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quartell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I bestow him, for my part, that shall be due to the wall.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that bar-  
nacles thousands at once are noted along the shoeres in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, anchors, and such like, which in proceste taking linelle heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same do neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

Aneas Syluius writteth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Ilands Orkades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a pretie conclusion against the Jewes in this wise following:  
*Respice infelix Iudae, respice, vel sero, primam hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & femina. Secundamque ex mare sine femina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non aude. Tertiam solum ex mare scilicet & femina, quia vidualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam vero, in qua sola salus est ex femina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in propriam perniciem detestaris. Erubescere miser, erubescere, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quae ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram nona quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel femina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & haec ultima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam a Domino natura tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda procreuit. Istam vero non minus admirabilem, minus ramen admirandam (quia saepe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil, praeter institutum & raro contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum. Solis ortum & occidit, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione praeterimus. Eclipsis vero solis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. Aei dem etiam facere videtur, flatus solo, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*

Parke thou wretched Jew, faith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Cue) for that thou hast the old lavy in reuerence, thou darrest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is dallie vsed as stiffneckt as thou art, thou dost acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustificacion (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ)

Exod. 8.  
verf. 7, 17, 24.  
Vide Apoc. 9.  
verf. 3, at  
2 Reg. 8.  
verf. 37.

Gregor. hom.  
29. in euang.  
Mat. 16. v. 17.

Isai. 117.  
verf. 22.

Threbanie.

Sabel puz.  
Enerolog.  
Camb. lib. 1.  
pog. dist. 1.  
rub. 15.  
Thomp. 3.  
31. at 40.

How they are generated.

Iohan. de S.  
Gen. in lib.  
exempl. & l.  
nab. rectum  
4. 31.  
Whether it  
barnacle b  
fith or flesh.  
Causa. lib.  
topog. dist.  
rub. 15.  
Polychr. li  
c. 32.

Adam & e  
uile ere  
by God.  
August. liij  
Genes. ad  
lib. 9. c. 18.

Genes. 1  
verf. 2.

Adam &  
e uile ere  
by God.  
Thomp. 3.  
31. at 40.  
m.

From: C. G. G.  
of the  
T. G. G.  
9:00 a.m. 3.  
m.

Ireland is stor'd of colwes, of excellent hories, of  
hawkes, of fish and of foule. They are not without  
wolues & grethounds to hunt them, bigger of bone  
and lim than a colt. Their colwes as also the rest of  
the

Sheepe.

their cattell, and commonlie ut at elsy founer the countrie ingendzeth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms. Sheepe few, and those bearing course flaxes, whereof they spin notable rug. Their sheepe haue short and curt taitles. They sheere their sheepe twice yearelie, and if they be left unshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of coine and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so rank in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well knownen to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as books tell. The hoxses are of pale caste, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueking, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordinglie, you shall haue a little fit that will trauell a whole daie without arie bait. Their hoxses of seruice are called chiefe hoxses, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reime passinglie, and champe vpon their bydels bzauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these hoxses are but for skirmitshes, not for traueking, for their stomachs are such, as they disdain to be hacknied. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueking. You shall haue of the third sort a bassard or mongrell hobbie, nere as tall as the hoxse of seruice, strong in traueking, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the hoxse of seruice they make great store, as wherin at times of need they repose a great peece of safetie. This word Volaterane writeth to haue come from Austurea, the countrie of Hispanie, betwene Galicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

Egle.

The Irish hobbie.

The nag.

The chiefe hoxse.

The mongrell hobbie.

Volat. lib. 3. Georg. Asturcones.

### The names of the ciuities, boroughs and haueu townes in Ireland.

The third chapter.

Dublinum.

**D**ublin the beautie and eie of Ireland, hath bene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, authors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Baile er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath bene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pale through a street called the high street, the houses on eche side shall be percerued to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 155. For about this time there arrived in Ireland three noble Gallierlings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Pucius. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Pucius Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speech Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to anie citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chualrie, in

Dublin builded.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana, Eblana.

obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largeness of hospitalite, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the 3. rith or pong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would trauesse hils, they are not far off. If champion ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, because of the bare haven. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Kians and Robert Jans, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & there of they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *signum prepositure*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that southlie (London forepiced) herie few such officers vnder the crowne of England keepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their daillie repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentats of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie fet set feasts are prouided for them. They that spend least in their maioraltie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of five hundred pounds for their viand and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in housekeeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

There hath bene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarlesfield, that bare the office of the maioraltie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renoume resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his expectall and entire friends entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expired, moued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Patrike James (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarlesfield, I take betwene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the ercheke within the castell of Dublin) I had three barnes well stored and thwacht with coine, and I assured my selfe, that anie one of these three had bene sufficient to haue stored mine house with bread, ale, and bere for this yeare. And now God and good companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maioraltie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing smiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to sit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

And certes I am so much wedded to god fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with destaieng of five hundred pounds yearelie, I would make humble sute to the citizens,

Dublin built by Ptolome.

The sword given to Dublin.

Dublin governed by a prouost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and shiriffes.

Patrike Scarlesfield his hospitalitie.

The morrow of Michaelmasse.

Cont. D. 11. his interestment.

Chaucer his the prolog. of his Canterbury tales.

Nicholas Stanbury.

The hospitalitie of Dublin.



to be their officer these thre peares to come. Duer this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he spent that yeare in housekeeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, malmeise, muscadell, &c. And in verie deed it was not to be maruelled: for during his maiorzaltie, his house was so open, as commonly from five of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his batterie and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which ghests were the soner allured, for that you should neuer marke him or his bedfellow (such was their buromnesse) once frome or tozinke their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glotome their countenances, or make a fowle face at anie ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their intertainment was so notable, as they would sauce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chere. His poster or anie other officer durst not for both his eares giue the simplest man that resorted to his house Com drum his intertainment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fullie resolu'd, that his worship and reputation could not be moze disained, than by the currish intertainment of anie ghest. To be brieue (according to the golden verses of the ancient and famous English poet Geffrie Chaucer:

Com drum  
his intertainment.

Chaucer the  
prolog  
of his Canterbury tales

An housholder, and that a great, was hee,  
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.  
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,  
A better viended man was no where none.  
Without bakte meat was neuer his house,  
Offish and flesh, and that so plenteouse.  
It flew in his house of meat and drinke,  
Of all deinties that men could thinke.  
After the sundrie seasons of the yere,  
So changed he his meat and his suppere.  
Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,  
And manie a breame, and manie a luce in stew.

Some of his friends, that were snudging penie-fathers, would take him by verie roughlie for his launshing & his outrageous expences, as they tearme it. Tush my maisters (would he saie) take not the matter so hot: who so cometh to my table, and hath no need of my meat, I know he cometh for the god will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort for need, how maie I bestow my goods better, than in releuing the poore? If you had perceiued me so far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddoche to paddoche, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to re-proue me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so farre adote, as that I haue as much water as my ship dralwey: I praye pardon me to be liberrall in spending, sith God of his goodnesse is gracions in sending.

Nicholas  
Stanhurst.

And in deed so it fell out. For at the end of his maiorzaltie he owgth no man a dotkin. What he depended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept so worshipie a standing house, as that he seemed to surrender the princes sword to other maiors, and reserved the port & hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Stanhurst their maior, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his maiorzaltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his daile and ordinarie ghest. There hath bene of late worshipfull ports kept by maister Ahan, who was twice maior, maister Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter Cusacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, James Bedlow, Christopher Aagan, and diuerse others. And not onelie their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but al-

The hospitallie  
of Dub-

so the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would make a man muse which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the upholder and furtherer of hospitalitie. What should I here speake of their charitable almes, daile and hourelie extended to the needie? The poore prisoners both of the spewgate and the castell, with thre or foure hospitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieved by the citizens.

Furthermore, there are so manie other extraordinarie beggars that daile swarme there, so charitable succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hospitall. The great expences of the citizens maie probablie be gathered by the worshipie and fairlike markets, weekele on wednesdaie and fridaie kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well storied with meat, and their market with corne, as not onelie in Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see anie one shambles, or anie one market better furnished with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in sundrie conflicts so galled the Irish, that euen to this daie, the Irish feare a ragged and fagged blacke standard that the citizens haue, almost through tract of time worne to the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with them in hostings, being neuer displaied but when they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the shoocke. The sight of which danteth the Irish aboue

The shambles  
and markets  
at Dublin.

The blacke  
standard.

30 measure.

And for the better training of their youth in martiall exploits, the citizens vse to muster foure times by the yeare: on Blacke mondaie, which is the morrow of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint John Baptist his eue, and saint Peter his eue. Whereof two are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his eue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an officer elected by the citizens, to be as it were capitaine or gaudian of the batchelers and the inwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeare he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent bachelers houses, and the like vnchast places. He is tearmed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles that are pearelie bated be vsuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batcheler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegrome vpon his returne from church, to the market place, and there with a solemne kisse for his *plimum vale*, he doth homage vnto the Bull ring.

The masters  
of Dublin.

The maior of  
the Bull ring

The Blacke mondaie muster spring of this occasion. Sone after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, & the greater part of Leinster pacified, diuerse townesmen of Wiltow stitted from thence to Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to be verie populous. Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie being somewhat retchlesse in heading the mountaine enimie that lurked vnder their noses, were wont to come and rolle in clusers, sometime thre or foure miles from the towne. The Irish enimie speng that the citizens were accustomed to fetch such od vagaries, especiallie on the hollie daies, & hauing an inkling withall by some false clatterfert or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abroad, on mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin, they laie in scale verie well appointed, and laid in ambush places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleasure they should presentlie inioy, than

The blacke  
mondaie.

Dublin inhabited by the  
Brittish. This was about the yeare  
of our Lord  
1209.



than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt vnto out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie howing in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slaine. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens deeming that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blaque mondaie.

The citie soon after being peopled by a fresh supplye of Bissollians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maiors and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chappels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet soon after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soon after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens and Strangbow the erle of Denbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the chape, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable livinges, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, where in doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vntlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferiour to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michaell, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. The feast is kept the thirde of februarye. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthies of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Tulloche now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the Ash Hammles, called the Cockhill, with Ierison his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vntied to Saint John his paroch. S. Batharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthe faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogcheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie stooped by strangers; and the citie merchants not vntering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and thereupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impouerished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuassing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being won vpon manie gaie glosed promises, by plaieng hope to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppressed, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorizall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate, Saint Michaell of Poules, *alias* Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Kevin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chaile and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their staton daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Audeon his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poules gate, *alias* Paules gate, Petowgate, a goale or prison, the tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cockhill street. The reason why this gate, and the tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being fore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Pottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbeye of the frier preachers, called Saint Sautour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the ketes, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbeye they razed; saying, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Curmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockholdes post. Some suppose, that one Curmundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others indge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by god hap solourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worthe a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Petowstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes and other noteworthie places in Dublin.  
John Decker.

St. Michael.

1050

1095

St. Michael's town, why it called.

The lanes.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The contro-  
uerse be-  
tweene Christs  
church and  
Saint Patrikes  
church.

Fitz Simons.

St. James  
his faire.

than; forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt on armed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie bouing in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slaine. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens determining that vnluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie soon after being peopled by a fresh supply of Britishtians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket pearlie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a passie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are paroch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chapels excepted. Christs church, otherwile named *Ecclesia sancte trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auelanus his time, yet soon after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soon after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephens and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the choyr, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable linings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north dore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. His foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vnlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michaele, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. Hir feast is kept the third of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthips of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Tulloche now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fith Hambles, called the Cockhill, with Pzesson his innes, & the lane thereto adjoining, which scope is now united to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Michan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthie faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogcheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie flooded by strangers; and the citie merchants not uttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and therupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impoverished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuassing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being woon vpon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng bopépe to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppressed, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memoriall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michaele of Doules, alias Paules, Saint Wlfigide, Saint Benin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abode to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the creation thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Bowen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Doule gate, alias Paules gate, Petogate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cocke street. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Cattleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue anie succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Pottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbete of the frier preachers, called Saint Sautour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the heies, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbete they razed; saieng, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Curmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Curmundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by good hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worthie a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Petowstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes, and other notable places in Dublin.

St. Martin.

1050

1095

St. Martin's gate, why called.

The lanes.

The churches of Dublin.

Christ's church.

The contemned church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the streets, lanes, alleys, lanes, and other places in Dublin.

The Damnes street, the Castle street, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses street, Saint John his street, *alias* fishamble street, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tole hall, or to the high cross. The High street bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a worthy citizen named John Decker, being then mayor of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Wolfstons, that reacheth over the Liffie. The Newgate street, from the Newgate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his street, the Wine taverne street, the Cooke street, the Bridge street. This street with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkete, the Merchant keie, Dismantowne, so called of certeine Castlerings or Romans, properlie the Danes that were called Dismanni. They planted themselves hard by the water side near Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarf in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish captains slain were Brian Borrough, Diagh mackie Ben, Tadie O'kellie, Dolin Akertegan, Gille Barrameda. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the roff. They were interred at Bilmantowne over against the great cross. There arrived a fresh supply of Castlerings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and settled themselves on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this daie is called Dismantowne, that is, the towne of the Dismannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue bene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southworse is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his street; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New street, Saint Francis his street, the Rowme, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Beuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmiller street, Saint Wiggins street, the Sheepe street, *alias* the Ship street. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship street.

The lanes.

This as it seemeth not wholly impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebberth hard by it: so it carieth a more colour of truth with it, because there haue bene found there certeine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and grapple botes withall. Saint Werberosses lane, up to Saint Nicholas his street, now inclosed, Saint Michaelell his lane, beginning at Saint Michaelell his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Kam lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Kellers lane. This lane is steep & slippery, in which otherwhiles, they that make more haste, than good speed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of speech, or for that they giue it a nickname, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trulie, Kille arle lane. Rochell lane, *alias* Backelane, on the southside of the fishamble, the Cooke street lane, Frapper lane, Siglotte hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Flouds lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Kenin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) conjecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dillie and hourely molested and pceded by their prouling mountaine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decay, and embayed themselves with in the citie walls.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets innes, which in old time was the Ecacar or Ercheher. Which should imple that the princes court would not haue bene kept there, vntill the place had bene taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it seemeth, retchellie: the Irish espieing the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surpising the vnexpected multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and with all, as far as their Scarborough lease could serue them, they ranckle the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the ercheher was from thence removed. There hath bene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue bene founded by some worthy knight of the garter. The man or with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants perrelie on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stones therof by consent of the assemblie turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a doughtie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the celestake sweeping of a pulloase baker. The great bridge going to Dismantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repaired by Nicholas Stant, burnt about the yeare one thousand five hundred forty & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Roundes (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towers, of which one of them is named Berminghams his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did enlarge the building thereof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath bene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgeous buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidonie, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an epigram all wellwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

*Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,  
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.  
Verum sidnei laudes hac saxa loquuntur,  
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libri.  
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valeant,  
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.  
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,  
Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.  
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aenum,  
Quod cum principio sed sine fine manet.  
Dum libri florent, homines dum vivere possunt,  
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,  
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aenum,  
Laud tua, Sidnei, digna perire nequit.*

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a bold come called Dzeffon his innes, a tower named Flouds tower. It toke the name of la Beale Floud, daughter to Angulshy king of Ireland. It seemeth to haue bene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recreate themselves therein. Which was not unlike, considering that a meener tower might serue such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beale, chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sit, as gorgeouslie builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the more part laie there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble man

The old Ecacar.

S. George his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell.

1220.

Berminghams his tower.

1566.

Chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers.

# The description of Ireland.

man tell he ofed, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bestaile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beuittfullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seeme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

Saint Stephens gréne, Hogging gréne, the Keltine, Ommantowne gréne. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious these named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hie all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath skillones outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Ommantowne, mangre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricate a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, cometh at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and pitie pralling, till time he was by certeine gaping gromys that laie in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. There standeth in Ommantowne gréne an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

In the yere one thousand one hundred fourscore and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Bricklies, the remnant of the crew was scattered, and euery man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leaving behind him a monument, rather by his postcritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man living to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of latwes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourtene fot long, which was a pretty length for a little John. Whereby appeareth that he was called little John ironically, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

Where to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; to wit, Newcastle, Malaggard, Ceshire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, toke them by verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatorie speeches began to menace them. The lobbyish and desperat clobertousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there sprawling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhaused, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Panaplia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nachelethe the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in god woth the townsmen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiving, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maiors neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle bendy whistlers, nor lustily sailors: for young and old are wholie addicted to thynning, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquavite*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Parks garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The massifs had no sooner espied him, but determining he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzzled, and partlie chained, he doubt not, but that he should haue bene well tugged in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such word. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene distained with the smallest spot, or dusted with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intelligamur*: a poise as well to be hartlie followed, as greatly admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Phorus, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable secured Spounser and Connaght: the Irish name this citie *Loumneagh*, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was flozed with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

The names of the fields coming to John. and so forth.

Scaldbrother executed.

Little John. 1189.

Robert Hood.

Little John deceased.

Cune

Waterford

Panaplia

Corke

Drogheda

Wolfe

The polit

manet

as

Waterford

Limerice

Sennan the

riuer of the

manet

Limerice

subject to

Wolfe, or

Wolfe

in  
be  
an  
m  
th  
by  
n  
n  
t  
s  
o  
/

# The description of Ireland.

man tell he ofed, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other chosse horses, did bestaile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beautifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not of discretion he would seme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

the names  
of the fields  
belonging to  
him.  
and =  
another.

Saint Stephens graine, Hogging graine, the Steine, Mmantowne graine. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious these named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Mmantowne, manure their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the galloes, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, cometh at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie prouling, till time he was by certeine gaping gromes that laie in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. Where standeth in Mmantowne graine an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

Scaldbrother  
executed.

Little John.  
1189.

In the yere one thousand one hundred foure score and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crew was scattered, and euery man forced to shift for himselfe. Where vpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leaving behind him a monument, rather by his postcritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man living to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hybone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourteene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appereth that he was called little John ironically, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

the king his  
land.

to this daie, the Kings land; so wit, Newcastle, Gallaggard, Echire, and Crumlin. The manors of Crumlin payeth a greater cheere rent to the prince than anie of the other thre, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemanoz, took them by verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatozie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clouberiousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the costard, and left him there spalling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhaused, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other thre manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Panapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of foren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, pea nathelless the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townsmen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke per they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cherrfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchwhifters, nor lustily sailors: for young and old are wholie addicted to spinning, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquavita*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The massifs had no sooner espied him, but determining he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muled, and partlie chained, he doubt not, but that he should haue bene well tugged in this Irish rug: where vpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such word. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene distained with the smallest spot, or dusked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the chities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intelligit* *the poster* *manet*: a polie as well to be hartlie followed, as waterford greatlie admired of all true and loiall totoners.

Cotke.

Drogheda.

Woffe.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Duorinus, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable seuered pounder and Connaught: the Irish name this citie *Loumneagh*, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was flozed with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

in  
be  
an  
m  
th  
b  
n  
n  
t  
s  
o  
f

Cotke.

Drogheda.

Woffe.

the poster

manet

as

waterford

greatlie

admired

of all

true

and

loiall

to

toners.

Limerike

called

in

Latine

Limericum

was

build

ed

by

Duorinus,

as

is

before

mentioned,

about

the

yere

one

hundred

fiftie

and

five.

This

citie

coasteth

on

the

sea

hard

vpon

the

riuer

Sennan,

whereby

are

most

notable

seuered

pounder

and

Connaught:

the

Irish

name

this

citie

Loumneagh,

and

thereof

in

English

it

is

named

Limerike.

The

towne

is

planted

in

an

Island,

which

plot

in

old

time,

before

the

building

of

the

citie

was

flozed

with

grasse.

During

which

time

it

happened,

that

one

of

the

Irish

potentates,

raising

warre

against

another

of

his

peers,

incamped



incamped in that Ile, having so great a troope of  
horsesmen, as the horses ate up the grasse in foure  
and twentie houres. Whereupon for the notorious  
number of horses, the place is called Loum ne augh;  
that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten  
up by horses. The verie maine sea is three score  
miles distant from the towne, and yet the river is so  
navigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile  
to the heie of the citie. The river is termed in Irish  
Shanne amne, that is, the old river; for shanne is  
old, & amne is a river, deducted of the Latine word  
Amnis. The building of Limericke is sumptuous and  
substantiall.

Corke, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth  
citie of Ireland haplie planted on the sea. Their ha-  
uon is an haven roiall. On the land side they are in-  
combed with euill neighbours, the Irish outlaws, that  
they are faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe  
them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to  
sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with  
his weapon, but the same to leave at a lodge appoin-  
ted. They walke out at seasons for recreation with  
powder of men furnished. They trust not the coun-  
trie adjoining, but match in wedlocke among them-  
selues onelie, so that the whole citie is welnigh lin-  
ked one to the other in affinitie. Droggheda, accom-  
ted the best towne in Ireland, and trulie not far be-  
hind some of their cities. The one moitie of this  
towne is in Deth, the other planted on the further  
side of the water lieth in Ulster. Where runneth a  
blind prophesie on this towne, that Kofse was, Du-  
blin is, Droggheda shall be the best of the three.

Kofse, an haven towne in Downe not far from  
Waterford, which seemeth to haue bene in ancient  
time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & pro-  
bable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old dis-  
tiches that are now a mile distant from the wals of  
Kofse, betwene which wals and ditches the reliks  
of the ancient wals, gates, and towers, placed be-  
twene both are yet to be scene. The towne is built  
in a barren soile, and planted among a crue of  
naughtie and polling neighbours. And in old time  
when it flourisheth, albeit the towne were sufficientlie  
peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with  
wals, they were foimed with watch & ward, to keepe  
it from the greedie snatching of the Irish enemies.  
With whome as they were generallie molested, so  
the priuat consenting of one pezzant on a sudden, in-  
cented them to inuiron their towne with strong and  
substantiall wals. There repaired one of the Irish to  
this towne on horsebacke, & espieing a peece of clothy  
on a merchants stall, tooke hold thereof, and bet the  
cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant  
and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping  
the ware, the horseman considering that he was  
well mounted, and that the merchant and he had  
growne to a price, made wisse as though he would  
haue dratone to his purse, to haue defraied the mo-  
nie. The cloth in the meane while being tucked up  
and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his horse  
and ran a waie with the cloth, being not imbarred from  
his passing pafe, by reason the towne was not per-  
closed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen be-  
ing pinched at the heart, that one rascal in such  
scornefull wisse should giue them the stampaine, not  
so much weeing the slenderesse of the losse, as the  
shamefultie of the foile, they put their heads tog-  
ther, consulting how to preuent either the sudden ru-  
thing, or the posthall streng of anie such aduenturous  
raishell hereafter.

In which consultation a famous Wido, a chaff wi-  
dow, a politike dame, a bountifull gentlewoman,  
called Kofse, who representing in sinceritie of life the  
follownesse of that heerbe whose name she bare, br-

solded the deuise, how anie such future mischance  
should be prevented: and withall opened his coffers  
liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties  
in a counsellor. His deuise was, that the towne  
should incontinentlie be inclosed with wals, & there-  
withall promised to discharge the charges, so that  
they would not sticke to find out labourers. The de-  
uise of this worthe matrone being wisse, and the of-  
fer liberall, the townesmen agreed to followe the  
one, and to put their helping hands to the atchuing  
of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough  
the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole  
towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long  
taile: none exempted, but such as were hebed and  
impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others ap-  
pointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to  
the vnheaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the ca-  
riage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of  
morter, the better fort busied in ouerfacing the work-  
men, ech one according to his vocation imployed, as  
though the ciuitie of Carthage were afresh in build-  
ing, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet Vir-  
gil, and neatlie Englished by master docto Phaer.

The Moores with courage went to worke,  
some vnder burdens grones:

Some at the wals and towrs with hands  
were tumbling vp the stones.

Some measurd out a place to build  
their mansion house within:

Some lawes and officers to make  
in parliament did begin.

An other had an haven cast,  
and deepe they trench the ground,

Some other for the games and plaies  
a statelie place had found.

And pillars great they cut for kings,  
to garnish forth their wals.

And like as bees among the flours,  
when fresh the summer fairs,

In shine of sunne applie their worke;  
when growne is vp their yoong:

Or when their hives they gin to stop,  
and honie sweet is sprong,

That all their caues and cellars close  
with dulcet liquor fils,

Some doo outlade, some other bring  
the stufte with readie wils.

Sometime they ioine, and all at once  
doo from their mangers fet

The slothfull drones, that would consume,  
and nought would doo to get.

The worke it heats, the honie sinels  
of flours and thime ywet.

But to returne from Wido of Carthage, to Kofse  
of Kofse, and his worke. The labourers were so ma-  
nie, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer pat-  
ment, so well applied, the quartie of faire marble so  
nere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the tren-  
ches and ditches hard by their rampiers, the stones  
were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the founda-  
tion is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse  
braue turrets were suddenlie mounted, and in man-  
ner sooner finished, than to the Irish enemies noti-  
fied: which I wisse was no small cosse to them. These  
wals in circuit are equall to London wals. At both  
three gorgeous gates, Bishop his gate, on the east  
side: Algate, on the east south east side: and South  
gate, on the south part. This towne was no more fa-  
moused for these wals, than for a notable wooden  
bridge that stretched from the towne vnto the other  
side of the water, which must haue bene by reasona-  
ble surueie twelue score, if not more. Diuerse of the  
poales, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was  
vnderpopt, sticke to this date in the water. A man

Cumlin.

Waterford.

Drogheda.

Drogheda.

Kofse.

The poole of  
Waterford.

Limericke.

Sheridan the  
river of Limericke.

Limericke  
why so called.

Wife, or  
Kofse.



would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so firme build, so substantiallie walled, so well peopled, so plentifullie with thristie artificers stoed, would not haue fallen to anie sudden decaie.

*Rosse decaied.*

But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the conecture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Wherefore I, as an historian undertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by Gods assistance, to accomplish, as nere as I can, my dutie in the one, leaving the other to the fruitious deciding of busie heads. This *Rosse*, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue thre sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir neyghes) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous voyages into forein countries. But as one of the thre chapmen was imployed in his traffike abroad, so the prettie poplet his wife began to be a fresh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloister of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of his smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the stinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to craipe in some townesmens brains: and to be bytise, it came so farre, thorough the inst iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that the wals with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir lover vsed hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelie vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no sooner notice giuen him upon his returne of these sorrowfull netwes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to trickle, his eares to dindle, his head to dazell, inso much as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits instilled thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a March hare.

*The pangs of gelousie.*

But how heauilie soeuer hir husband toke it, dame *Rosse* and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townesmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormous adulterie, as to see the bedlens pangs of brainesicke gelousie. Whereupon diuerse of the townesmen grunting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie betterlie to grub awate such wild hyubs from the towne: and if this were in a nie dispensable wife raked up in the ashes, they should no sooner trauesse the seas, than some other would inkinde the like fire afresh, and so consequentlie dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornetwads, because rutting wiues make often ramish husbands, as our prouerb dooth inferre. Others soothing their fellows in these mutinies turned the pnat iniurie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townesmen conspiring togither stocked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbete, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbete is yet to be seene at *Rosse* on the south side) where vnderparing the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doze, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their blood, roaring in their cabins, and gasping vp their sitting ghosts in their couches.

The bypore was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat astonied. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the

townesmen: and how frendlie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgieue so horrible a murder, but were fullie resolu'd, whensoever opportunitie serued them, to sit in their shirts, by making them soule as sorrowfull a kyrie. These thre brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countrie to continue their trade. The religious men being downe to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these thre brethren were ready to be embarked, sunkt prillie out of the towne, and referred to the mouth of the hauen, nere a castell, named *Hulke tower*, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waite to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the shore peking. Some iudge that the said *Rosse* was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these thre passengers bering saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the *Hulke tower*. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dashed and past against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerwhelmed in the sea.

This heauie hap was not so sorrowfull vnto the townesmen, as it was gladfome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbrochers of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie ho here, but sent in post some of their couent to *Rome*, where they inhailed the slaughter of the fraternitie so beinroule, and concealed their otone pranks so couertlie, as the pope excommenced the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such cursing and banning of all hands, and such dissensions buckle burle raised betwene themselves, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arse berse, topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreame penurie.

The wals stand to this date, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is scope and steaming upward. Their church is called *Christs church*, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of *Denmarke* his tome: whereby coniecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This *Rosse* is called *Rosse Nolla*, or *Rosse Ponti*, by reason of their bydge. That which they call old *Rosse*, beareth east thre miles from this *Rosse*, into the countrie of *Welford*, an ancient manour of the earle of *Kildares*. There is the third *Rosse* on the other side of the water, called *Rosse Zbarcan*, so named, for that it standeth in the countrie of *Kilkennie*, which is diuided into thre parts, into *Hircan*, *Ada*, & *Edough*. *Welford* a hauen towne not far from *Rosse*, I find no great matters thereof recorded, but onelie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in *Ireland*, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harborresse of the English conqueors.

*Kilkennie*, the best vplandish towne, or (as they terme it) the properest drie town in *Ireland*, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions growe dallie betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

1400  
Robert  
Abbot.

William  
Shall.

1234

The churches  
of Kilkennie.

The grange  
mar schale.  
Dierce  
Butler.  
Margaret  
Fitzgerald.

Peter White.

The parish  
church of St.

From Kildare  
old Kildare.

Kildare  
barren.

Kilkennie  
shire so called.

The life of  
Maurice.

tolone is the ancienter, and was called the old Kilkennie, being under the bishop his booke, as they are ought to be at this present. The high tolone was builded by the English after the conquest, and had a parcell of the Irish tolone thereto united, by the bishop his grant, made unto the founders upon their earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot a worthie gentleman, inclosed with wals the better part of this tolone, by which it was greatlie fortified. This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In this tolone in the chere of the frer preachers, William Marshall earle marshall and earle of Denbroke was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231. Richard brother to William, to whome the inheritance descended, within three yeares after deceased at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field given in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the twelfth of April, and was intombed with his brother, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:

*Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus,  
Cuius sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.*

This tolone hath three churches, saint Kennes church, our ladies church, *alias* S. Pares church; and S. Patricks church, with the abbey of S. John. S. Kennes church is their chiefe and cathedrall church, a worthie foundation as well for gorgeous buildings, as for notable livings. In the west end of the churchyard of late have bene founded a grammar schole by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle of Desmond and Ossory, and by his wife the countesse of Desmond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald, sister to Gerald fitz Gerald the earle of Kildare that last was. Out of which schole have sprouted such proper times, through the painefull diligence, and the laborious industrie of a famous lettered man M.

Peter White (sometime fellow of Oxiall college in Oxford, and scholemaster in Kilkennie) as generalie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especiallie the southerne parts of that Island are greatlie thereby furthered. This gentlemen's method in training by youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholars beine. If he found him free, he would bytelle him like a wiseocrates from his booke; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards; finally, by interlasing studie with recreation, to grow with mirth, paine with pleasure, softness with sweetness, roughness with mildness, he had so good success in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realm of Ireland was no grammar schole so good, in England I am well assured none better. And because it was my happie hap (God and my parents be thanked) to have bene one of his cruse, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good will in remembryng his paines. And certes, I acknowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest stone cemented in the wals of that famous schole.

This tolone is named Kilkennie, of an holie and learned abbat called Kianicus, borne in the countie of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some booke recorded) in Connaght. This pelat being in his suckling peres fostered, through the providence of God, with the milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Luracans, thereto by Gods especiall appointment deputes, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and learning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a mirror of the one, as a paragon of the other: whereof he gaue sufficient coniecture in his minority. For being turned to the keeping of the shepe, and his fellow shepheards, wholie yielding themselves like lusty

bagabunds to sloth and sluggishness, yet would he still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiars and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashioning the furnitures thereto appertaining. Being kept further in yeares, he made his repaire unto England, where cloistering himselfe in an abbey, wherof one named Doctus was abbat, he was wholie wedded to his booke, and to deuotion: wherein he continued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certaine time penning a serious matter, and hauing not fullie drawne the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tinge to assemble the conent to some spirituall exercise. To which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicirclewise unfinished, untill he returned backe to his booke. Sone after being promoted to ecclesiasticall orders, he travelled by the consent of his fellow monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such manifest proofe of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts thereof he is highlie renowned.

Thomas tolone, a proper tolone builded in the countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Ballie mac Andan: that is, the tolone of Fitzantonie. This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one of them was espoused to Denne, the other married to Archdeacon, or Packodo, whose heires haue at this daie the tolone betwene them in coparcenarie. But because the reader may see in what part of the countie the cities and chiefe townes stand, I take it not far amisse to place them in order as insuech.

Drogheda, Carregfargus, Downe, Armagh, Arglash, Cloagher, Muncighan, Downegaile, Kiarregmac Koffe, Newrie, Carlingford, Ardrie, Donnalke, Louth. Dublin, Bulrudrie, Luske, Swords, Rathaggard, Lons, Newcassle, Rathcoule, Dugher arde, Paas, Glane, Mainish, Killocke, Rathaingan, Kildare, Luinane, Casketowne, Philips towne, Pariborough, Kilkullen, Castle Marten, Thistlebermot, Killea, Achie, Catherlaugh, Leighe, len, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Cnellocke, Callshelle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Koffe, Clonmelle, Welford, Fernes, Fidderd, Cneke, tie, Rathmon, Wicklow, Arklow, Waterford, Lismore, Dongaruan, Poghill, Corke, Limerike, Kilmallocke, Aloon, Saluote, Anrie, Louaghbragh, Clare, Coame, Sligagh, Koffecomman, Aradowne, Trimme, Donaghblinne, Rathlouth, Bananne, Abbie, Scrine, Taragh, Kennes, Donboine, Granoche, Dulake, Molingare, Fowle, Lough, feude, Kilkentwest, Poilagagh, Deluinn.

In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Morth should be diuided and made two shires, one of them to be called the countie of Morth, the other to be called the countie of Westmorth, and that there should be two shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same shires, as is more exprest in the act.

Loughfoile, the Banne, Wolderfrith, Carregfergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Loughguen, Carlingford, Kilkale, Dundalk, Kilklogher, Dunane, Drogheda, Houlpatrick, Panie, Baltraite, Wilmore, Balbriggan, Roggers town, Skeriff, Kuth, Malahide, Banledowle, Houth, Dublin, Dalke, Wickincklow, Arklow, Welford, Baggabun, the Passage, Waterford, Dongaruan, Koffe noua, Poughill, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie, Koffe Ilbere, Doxie, Balfinmore, Downenore, Downeshead, Downelounge, Attannanne, Craghanne, Downenebtowne, Balinefildiedge, Dargine Jhousle, Eratie, Seninne, Callanne, Kilnewine, Limerike, Inistkatie, Belalenne, Arinnewine, Glanemaugh, Ballisweham, Wimbare, G. 2. Downe.

Thomas town.  
Thomas Fitzantonie.

The names of the chiefe townes in Morth.  
The names of the chiefe townes in Limer.

Chiefe townes in Downe.  
Chiefe townes in Connaught.  
Chiefe townes in Morth.  
Chiefe townes in Westmorth.

1542

The names of the chiefe townes in Ireland.

Robert Talbot.

William Marshall.

1234

The churches of Kilkennie.

The grammar schole.  
Pierce Butler.  
Margaret Fitzgerald.

Peter White.

The present state of Kilk.

ew Koffe.  
Koffe.

offe K.  
rean.

Kilkennie.  
Schole to call.  
Kilkennie.

Kilkennie.



take hie to continue therein foure & twentie houres, with doing other while with ghoslie meditations, and other while a dread for the conscience of their deserts, they saie they see a plaine resemblance of their owne faults and vertues, with the hozor and comfort thereinto belonging, the one so terrible, the other so toious, that they verelie deeme theimselfes for the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reuelations of men that went thither (S. Patrike yet liuing) are kept witten within the abbeye there adioiuning. When anie person is disposed to enter (for the doze is euer spard) he repaireth first for deuise to the archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is knowen that diuerse entering into that caue, neuer wers sene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fullie resolu'd, he recommendeth him to the pzior, who in like maner sauourable exhorteth him to chuse some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioyneth him to begin with prayer and fast of fiftene daies, so long together as in discretion can be indured. This time expired, if yet he perseuere in his former purpose, the whole conuent accompanieth him with solemne procession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and so bar vp the doze untill the next morning. And then with like ceremonies they await his returne and reduce him to the church. If he be sene no more, they fast and praye fiftene daies after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no cause, but a christian being perswaded that there is both hell and heauen, may without vanitie upon sufficient information be resolu'd, that it might please God, at sometime, for considerations to his wisdoms knowen, to reueale by miracle the vision of soies and paines eternall. But that altogether in such sort, and by such maner, and so ordinarie, and to such persons, as the common fame doth vtter; I neither beleue nor wish to be regarded. I haue considerd with diuerse that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premises to be true, but that they saw no sight, saue onelie fearefull dreame when they chanced to nod, and those they said were exceeding horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated more or lesse, according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Hounvler there be two Ilands, the greater and the lesse. In the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie liuing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath bene often proued by bitches and cats, which were brought thither to trie this conclusion, and presentlie they died. In this Iland the cocke or male birds are sene to chirpe, and pearch vp and doونه the twigs, but the hen or female by instinct of nature abandoneth it, as a place vtterlie poisoned. This Iland were a place alone for one that were vered with a shewd wife. The lesse Iland is called *Insula uimentium*, because none died there, ne maie die by course of nature, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Howbeit the dwellers when they are sore frucht with schuelles, or to farre withered with age as there is no hope of life, they request to be conueyed by boate to the greater Iland, where they are no longer in hozor, than they yeld by their ghosles. For my part, I haue bene verie inquisitiue of this Iland, but I could neuer find this strange propertie spaken by anie man of credit in the whole countrie. Neither would I wish anie to be so light, as to lend his credit to anie such feined gloses, as are neither verelie by experience, nor warranted by anie colourable reason. Therefore I see not why it should be termed *Insula uimentium*, unless it be that none dieth there, as long

as he liueth.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a church yard in Ulster, which no female kind maie enter. If the cocke be there, the hen dareth not follow. There is also in the west part of Connaght an Iland, placed in the sea, called Aren, to which saint Brendan had often recourse. The dead bodies need not in that Iland to be grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that the contagion of anie carrien maie not infect it. There, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c. This Iland is enemie to mice. For none is brought thither, but either it leape into the sea, or else being staied it dieth presentlie. There was in Kildare an ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein Cambrensis saith, was there continuall fire kept day and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I trauelled of set purpose to the towne of Kildare to see this place, where I did see such a monument like a vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

Touching the heath of Kildare Cambrensis telleth that it maie not be tild: and of a certainte within this few peares it was tried, and found, that the cozne which was sowed did not proue. In this plaine (saith Cambrensis) stood the stones that now stand in Salisbury plaine, which were conueied from thence by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons. There is also in the countie of Kildare a goodlie field called *Spollegymast*, betwene the Rozrough and Kilkla. Diuers blind prophesies run of this place, that there shall be a bloudie field fought there, betwene the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish, and so bloudie forsooth it shall be, that a mill in a bale hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with the streame of blood that shall poluze downe from the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great assistance in this balducktum dreame. In the top of this height stand motes or rundels verie formalie fashioned, where the strength of the English armie (as they say) shall be incamped.

The Earle of Suffer being lord lieutenant of Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such prophesie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the field. Not farre from *Spollegymast*, within a mile of Castledermot, or *Walsledermot*, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named the Geraldine his throw or cast. The length of which in verie deed is wonderfull. The occasion proceeded of this. One of the Geraldins, who was ancestor to those that now are lords of Lackath, prebened an enemie of his. The earle of Kildare hauing intelligence thereof, suppressing affection of kintred, and moued by zeale of iustice, pursued him with a great troope of horsemen, as the other was bringing of the prede homeward. The Geraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the earle was in hot pursute, and therefore being warned by the messenger to hie him with all speed possible: the gentleman being nettled, that his kinsman would seme to rescue the prede of his dead lie so; and as he was in such fretting tosse streng in his greafe, he brake out in these cholertlike words: And doth my confine Kildare pursue me in deed? Now in god faith, whereas he seemeth to be a suppresser of his kindred, and an vpholder of my mortall enemie, I would wish him no more harme, than that this dart were as far in his bodie, as it shall sticke forthwith in the ground: and therewithall giuing the spurres to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed with the length thereof aswell his companie as his posteritie.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thence, when the earle with his hand made hot foot after, and

The ceremonies used in entering S. Patrike his purgatorie.

Cambren. in eodem loco.

Iren.

The firehouse of Kildare.

The heath of Kildare.

The stones of Salisbury plaine.

Spollegymast.

The earle of Suffer.

The Geraldine's throw.

147.

The Geraldine's throw.

The earle of  
Arboreus  
answer.

The hill of  
Caragh.

Castellknocke.  
The strange  
wells.

Camb.in lib. 1.  
topog. dist. 1.  
rub. 8. & 10.

dogging still the tracke of the poudours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pick-  
thank or other let the earle to understand of the Ge-  
rardine his wild speeches there deliuered. And to in-  
hanke the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how  
farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pit-  
tyed in his lordship his bodie. The erle assented at the  
length thereof, said: Now in good sooth, my cousin in  
behaving himselfe so couragiously, is worthy to  
haue the pcede shot free. And for my part I purpose  
not so much to stomach his cholerike will, as to im-  
brace his vallant prowesse. And therewithall com-  
manded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe.  
There is in Arreth an hill called the hill of Caragh,  
wherein is a plaine twelue score long, which was na-  
med the Kempe his hall: there the countie had their  
meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was ac-  
counted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish  
historians hammer manie fables in this forge of Fin-  
mac Colle and his champions, as the French histo-  
rie doth of king Arthur and the knights of the round  
table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beare the  
shew of an ancient and famous monument.

There is in Castellknocke a village not far from  
Dublin, a window not glazed nor latched, but open,  
and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster boi-  
sterouslie on euerie side of the house, yet place a can-  
dle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no puffe  
of wind blew. This maie be tried at this date, who so  
shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the  
strange wells that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake  
little more than that which I find in Cambrensis, whose  
words I will English, as they are Latined in his  
booke. There is (saith he) a well in Gounster, with the  
water of which if anie be washed, he becometh forth-  
with hoare. I haue seene a man that had one halfe of  
his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other  
halfe unwashed was browne, remaining still in his  
naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a fountaine  
in the further edge of Ulster, and if one be bathed  
therewith, he shall not become hoare: in which well  
such as loath greie heares are accustomed to dye.  
There is in Connaght a well that springeth on the  
top of an hill farre and distant from any sea, ebbing  
and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea  
doth; and yet the place is vplandish, and the water  
fresh. There is another spring in the same countie;  
the water of which is verie wholesome to men and too-  
ment, but poison to beastes: and if a man put but the  
grauell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth pre-  
sently his thirst.

There is in Ulster a standing pole thirte thou-  
sand paces long, and fiftene thousand paces brode,  
out of which springeth the noble northerne river, cal-  
led the Banne. The fishers complaine more often for  
bursting of their nets with the ouer great lake of  
fish, than for any want. In our time vpon the con-  
quest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape  
resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge,  
that it could not be drawne or caried whole together,  
but the fishmongers were forced to hache it in gobs-  
bets, and so to carrie it in peccemeale throughout the  
countie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the  
report be true, the beginning of this pole was  
strange. There were in old time where the pole now  
standeth, vicious and beastlie inhabitants. At what  
time was there an old said saw in euerie man his  
mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which  
for the superstitious reuerence they bare it, was con-  
tinuallie covered and signed) were left open and dis-  
signed, so soone would so much water gush out of that  
well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole ter-  
ritorie. It happened at length, that an old trot came  
thither to fetch water, and hearing his child whine, he

ran with might and maine to dandle his babbie, for-  
getting the obseruance of the superstitious order to-  
fore vsed. But as she was returning backe to haue  
couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne,  
as that it past his helpe: and shortly after she, her  
suckling, & all those that were within the whole ter-  
ritorie were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more  
likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sun-  
nie date see the steeles and other piles plainlie and  
distinallie in the water. And here would be noted,  
that the riuer of the Banne flowed from this head  
spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie  
than it doth in our time. Whitherto Giraldus Cam-  
brensis.

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ire-  
land, & for that he maketh himselfe an euidentie of  
the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam*  
*Hibernie incidit mentio, prater infinita in ea rerum miracu-*  
*la, haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod ob porten-*  
*tuosam nouitatem solum omnium excedere videatur, nota-*  
*men verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in castris,*  
*circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec ar-*  
*bor villa nascitur, &c: in quem si lignum infigas anni cir-*  
*citer vnius curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem*  
*conuertetur; quod deinceps aqua operietur, in infernum: reli-*  
*quum aqua exstans ligni formam naturamque seruat. Ita*  
*coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita*  
*nouitate conspiciantur.* But for that mention is made  
of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of  
wonders in that land, it will not be whole beside the  
purpose, to insert one marvellous thing, which al-  
though it may seeme to some to haue no colour of  
truth: yet because it hath bene by vs experimented,  
and found out to be true, we make the better aduouch  
it. There is a standing pole in that land, where  
which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor  
bush. If you sticke a rod or peece of timber in this  
pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space  
of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dipt  
in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue  
the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former  
woodden shape. So that you may see that which is  
strange, in one stocke or sticke, stone, iron and wood  
linkt and knit together. Thus much Hector Boetius.

In the countie of Bilkennite and in the borders  
thereto confining, they vsed a solemne trial by a wa-  
ter they call Melashae. The propertie of this water  
is, as they say, that if a persured person drinke there-  
of, the water will gush out at his bellicke, as though  
the drinker his navill were bored with an auger. The  
riuer that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath  
this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at  
 sundrie times. As long as it reigneth, yea if it flood  
poluizing the daies, you shall find diuerse shallow  
brookes; and the riuer will be nothing thereby in-  
creased: but within foure and twentie houres after  
the thowpes are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sud-  
den spring flow; as if the former raine were great;  
a verie few places or none at all will be found pasa-  
ble. Cambrensis writeth, that in the south part of  
Gounster, betwene the maine sea coasting on this  
paine and saint Brendan his hills, there is an is-  
land of the brie side incompassed with a riuer abun-  
dantlie stozed with fish, & on the other part inclosed  
with a little brooke. In which place saint Brendan  
was verie much resiant. This plot is taken to be  
such a sanctuarie for beastes, as if anie hare, fox, stag,  
or other wild beaste be chased there that land by  
dogs, it maketh straight vpon the brooke, and af-  
ter as it passeth the streame, it is so cockedure, as  
the hunter may perceiue the beaste resting on the  
one bankie, & the dogs questring on the other bank,  
being as it were by some invisible railles imbar-  
d from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue  
the

The Salt  
lake.

Hector Boetius  
in de consolat.  
de comfortibus  
dist. 14.

Trimagh.

Ireland its  
household  
nature.

Cambrensis  
lib. 1. dist. 14.



Of the lords spirituall of Ireland,  
their names and dignities.

The first chapter.

**T**he spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primacie was euer giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the countrey) to the archbishoppe of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. This custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other pallies of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, vnder whose prouince are the bishops of Meeth and Deren, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknoos, Kaba, Dromore. Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the third vniued Clandelagh, the bishop of Elghine, Kildare, Fernes, Dslozie and Leighlin. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whom Lismore is vnited, Cozke and Clone, Kosse, Ardagh, Limerike, Enniscalic, Killaoloe, and Ardfer. Under Twene, Kilmacco, Dsline, Anaghdoune, Clonfert, Moxro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of perfonall and reall vniou of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old booke the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a iust register or catalog of them, yet I take it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. ¶ Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuers others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. ¶ Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the vpper part of the chancell on the right hand. ¶ Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfrancus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white silke like the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashon. And where you shall espye the armes of anie archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great manie blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within three moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall, otherwise he may be remoued; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receit, neither may he before summon or call a council, make churche, dedicate churches, giue orders, or consecrate bishops. He may not weare his pall with out the church, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalis differeth from the pall. Furthermore, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius, his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was drowned with his felow passengers the same yere that he was consecrated, the ninth of October. ¶ Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Dermolnacus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased

the beast chased. On the other side of this Island there runneth a riuer forced aboue measure with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching collicles make anie sale of the fish, let it be powdered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) aboue the first night or date that it be taken. So that you must eate it within that short compass, otherwise it putrifieth and stanceth to no feed.

The Salmon leape.

This riuer ouerfloweth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the property of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to flitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth nere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenlie it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skipeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is nere Lelisp, but not so high as this. There be also, as witneseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hills nere to saint Seane his church, where cranes yearelie breed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if anie purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like yong scalling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presentlie brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest forth, with they shew (whether it be by anie metamorphosis, or some sugling legier de maine by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at once instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will seme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as yong red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his arse.

Armagh.

The toline of Armagh is said to be enemie to rats, and if anie be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praies of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are furnished, or by pofe and experience daile berefted: there are in this Island such notable quarries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plenty of lead, iron, latin and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature seemed to haue framed this countrey for the bozehouse or ietwelhouse of hir chiefest thesaure: Doubteit she hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in poyzing forth such riches, as she pzoneth hir selfe an enuious stepdame; in that she insilleth in the inhabitants a droule liether nesses to withdraue them from the insearching of hir horded and hidden ietwels. Wherein she fareth like one, that so purchase the name of a sumptuous frankelenor a god blander, would bid diuerse ghests to a coslie and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with some secret indantment would benum them of their limbs, or with some hidden lothsonnelle would dull their stomachs, as his ghests by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselves, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent laborer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a lusty loiterer to be settled in a fertill ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may and will not through his painefull trauell reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yeldeth.

Sci. Boet. Scot. reg. script. pag. 5. et. 50.

Delatsh.

The Liff.

Ireland the bozohouse of nature.

Ambr. lib. diu. 2. rub. 44

Lib. 10. Scot. Hist. fol. 212. lect. 40.

1074

Pall what it is.

c. quoniam; c. cil.

c. quod sicut de elect. penul. De priuil. & excel. priuil. cap. Archie. & in glos. c. ex titulum, & c. ad hoc. de auct. & vi. pal.

1075.



# The description of Ireland.

32  
1095.

in the yere one thousand nine hundred and five. Samuell succeeded Donatus, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succeed immediatlie after Samuell, for there be thirtie yeres betwene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred three score and two.

1152.

1162.

St. Laurentius Othothille. This prelat was first abbat of St. Benins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnlie consecrated and installed in Christs church at Dublin by Gelactus the pimat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall given them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of Angie in the yere one thousand one hundred and four score, the fourteenth of Nouember.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succeeded Laurence. This famous prelat being cloistered by in the abbeie of Eusham in Worcestershire was highly renowned of all men, as well for his deepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being given to vnderstand of so worthy a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an vnbualluable ierwell should be installed in Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agreed he should be consecrated their archbishop; which was an happie houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he indured in edifying his flocke in Chrastian religion, he was founder of St. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He deceased in the yere one thousand two hundred and twelue, and was intombed in the quere of Christs church.

1180.

Henrie Londres succeeded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorchbill, or Scorchbillein thorough this occasion. Being settled in his see, he gaue commandement to all his tenants to make their appearance before him at a daie appointed: and for that he was ray as yet in his revenues, he toke it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commoditie, that eche of them should shew their euidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no fluttish dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best, deliuered their euidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he srong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espiong this subtilt pranke to be verie vnfitting for a bishop, could not bide their tongues, but bzake out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop: Haie, thou art a scorchbillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants intoided their lands, vnlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisdom and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He deceased in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie & five, and lieth buried in Christs church. Whereby appereth that Mathæus Parisiensis did ouershot himselfe, in writing one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yere one thousand two hundred and thirtene, whereas Londres at that time was in the see, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtene yeres.

Math. Paris.  
in vita Ioan.  
pag. 316.

1285.

Johan Stamford succeeded Londres, but not immediatlie, and was consecrated in the yere one thousand two hundred four score and five. This man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Tunc, was made lord iustice of Ireland in

the yere one thousand two hundred four score and seauen. And some after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and vpon his returne he deceased in England, & some after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin.

Willielmo Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin much about this time, but whether the man haue bene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to asseme, nor to denie; but certeine it is that the date is mistaken, for vpon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwene whome and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Hothom with the appurtenances. Which man: the lord Butler recovered by an arbitrement or composition taken betwene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere one thousand three hundred and six.

Richard de Hauerings was successor vnto Flerings, who after that he had continued wellnere the space of five yeres in the see, was soze appalled by reason of an strange and wonderfull dreame. For on a certeine night he imagined that he had sene an bogle monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in maner squised or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disburdened of so heauie a load. Vpon which with he suddenly awoke. And as he beat his braynes in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their flæces yarelie, by receiuing the revenues and perquisites of the bishoprike, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse soze wounded in conscience, he trauelled with all speed to Rome, where he resigned by his bishoprike, a burthen so heauie for his weak shoulders, and being vpon his resignation competentlie benedicted, he bestowed the remnant of his life vpolie in deuotion.

Johan Lech nephew to Hauerings, vpon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the pimat of Armagh, for their iurisdiccions: insomuch as he did imbarre the pimat from hauing his crosse bozne before him within the prouince of Leinster, which was contrary to the canon law, that admitteth the crosse to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince. This man deceased in the yere one thousand three hundred and thirtene.

Alexander Bigenor was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent as well of the chapter of Christs church as of St. Patriks. Howbeit vpon the death of Lech there arose a schisme & division betwene Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor of Ireland and Bigenor then treasurer of the same countrie. The cancellos to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in the wale he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Bigenor staling in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better speed, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yere 1317 there came bulls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Ulster were in England. This prelat some after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and some after he had landed at Boghill, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall promotion he was receiued with procession and great solemnitie.

1300.

13

1307.

13

1308.

13

1309.

13

1310.

13

1311.

13

1312.

13

1313.

13

1314.

13

1315.

13

1316.

13

1317.

13

1318.

13

1319.

13

1320.

13

1321.

13

1322.

13

1323.

13

1324.

13

1325.

13

1326.

13

1327.

13

1328.

13

1329.

13

1330.

13

1331.

13

1332.

13

1333.

13

1334.

13

1335.

13

1336.

13

1337.

13

1338.

13

1339.

13

1340.

13

1341.

13

1342.

13

1343.

13

1344.

13

1345.

13

1346.

13

1347.

13

1348.

13

1349.

13

1350.

13

1351.

13

1352.

13

1353.

13

1354.

13

1355.

13

1356.

13

1357.

13

1358.

13

1359.

13

1360.

13

1361.

13

1362.

13

1363.

13

1364.

13

1365.

13

1366.

13

1367.

13

1368.

13

1369.

13

1370.

13

1371.

13

1372.

13

1373.

13

1374.

13

1320. *solennitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Woolard was chancelor, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Wigmore deceased in the yeere 1349.*

1345 *John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop vpon Wigmore his death. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred fiftie and two. Thomas Mohot succeeded John, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred seuentie & six. Robert Wikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert Maldebic succeeded Wikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred nintie and seauen.*

1377 *Richard Northalis was remoued from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Craulie an Englishman succeeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtene. In whose gouernement the English did skirmish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare nere Kilka, where the English banquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Trisfeldermot, or Castledermot, a towne adioining to Kilka, praiering for the prosperous successe of the subiects that went to skirmish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comeliness with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so found a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without god cause accounted the glory of his time. In daillie talke as he was wont, so he was swet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seuentene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in Petu college at Wyford. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie & nine, there hath bene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whose a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eighteenth yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the first. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland. I found in an ancient register the names of certeine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigids; the names of whose I thought here to insert. Lonie was bishop in saint Brigids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and eight; the rest doe here follow:*

1413 *The Strathmild of Kildare.*

1439

1460

*The bishops of Kildare.*

1488

2 Anoz.	14 Robert.
3 Conlie.	15 Bonifacius.
4 Donatus.	16 Padogge.
5 Damb.	17 William.
6 Magnus.	18 Calstide.
7 Richard.	19 Richard.
8 John.	20 James.
9 Simon.	21 Male.
10 Nicholas.	22 Baret.
11 Walter.	23 Edmund Lane, who
12 Richard.	flourished in the yeare
13 Thomas.	1518.

*There hath bene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jake, who among the rest of his charitable deeds, builded the bridge of Kilkollen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to*

*the great and baslie comoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.*

*The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countie of Ireland.*

The sixt chapter.

10 *Gerald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbow his kinsman, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, nere of blood to Rice ap Cristin, prince of Wales by Isesta the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald remoued into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred fiftie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surrey, made vpon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. From Tuscan came my ladies worthie race, Faire Florence was sometime hir ancient seat: The westerne Ile whose pleasant shore doth face Wild Cambers chifles, did giue hir luelie heat, Postred she was with milke of Irish brest, Hir fire an earle, hir dame of princes blood, From tender yeares in Britaine she dooth rest With kings child, where she tasteth costlie food. Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eie, Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight, Hampton me taught to wish hir first for mine: And Windsor, alas, dooth chafe me from hir sight, Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboute, Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.*

40 *The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporat it to houses there to linked in no kindred, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits attributed as well in England and Ireland, as in foren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselves Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in Iereth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seme forsooth by threatening kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so nere of blood one to the other, that two bulshells of beanes would scantlie count their degrees. An other reason why diuerse strange houses haue bene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or suchlike, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgirald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or three descents they shoue themselves among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishtment of houses.*

*This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourishd in the most renowned countries of Europe. Marring Fitzgirald was one in great credit with king John. I find an other Giraldine*

1165

*March, Paris, in vita Joh. pag. 316. vol. 40.*

# The description of Ireland.

34  
1 2 3 4

Page 450.

Giraldus  
Cambrensis.

Joannes de Lo-  
comenti  
part prima  
gramarij.

Cambrensis  
lib. 2. conqu.  
Hib. rub. 17.

raldine *Archiepiscopus Berdegalesis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giraldine patriarch of Jerusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Mathaeus Parisiensis. There was one Girald of Berneill an excellent poet in the Italian tongue: an other named Baptiste Girald, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an exquisite philosopher, being publike professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeares. I haue sene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldus Ferrariensis de dyis gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pishie booke and verie well penned. Also Syluester Giraldus Cambrensis hath bene one of this familie, nere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgiral. This gentleman was borne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings secretarie. And for that speciall assistance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings sonne into Ireland, as one of his chieftest and discreetest counsellors.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tollerable divine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skilfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indeno: comparable to the best, in his stile not in those daies taken for the worst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other his workes, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the conquest thereof. John the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberal in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdit I know not, unlesse he taketh the man to be our launty of his pen in scrumping of his aduersaries with outpiping taunts, which (as I gesse) flowed rather from a flouting ostentation of a roisting kind of rhetorike, than from anie great malice he bare anie one. Howbeit, I maie not gainsate, but as he was kind where he toke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giraldins maie plainly appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthe sentence insuing.

*Hoc est huius generis omen & hac conditio. Semper in armat a militia chari, semper primi, semper rebus in di artijs assis nobili praestantissimi. Cessante vero necessitate articulo, statim exosi, statim ultimi, statim ad ima liuore depresti. Peruntamen tanta generositatis sylvam liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Unde & usque in hodiernum gens hac novis plantularum succrementis vives in insula non modicus habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penetralia? Giraldide. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giraldide. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giraldide. Qui sunt, quos liuor detractat? Giraldide. Si principem tantae strenuitatis merita digne pensantem reperissent, quam tranquillum, quam pacificum olim Hibernie statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas. This hath been continualle, saith Cambrensis, a destinie or fatall propertie: annexed to this house. In warre and martiall broiles they are dandaled, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? They rule the roff. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfully behated, or else by enuious carpers sinisterly suspected. Whobeeit, enuie with all hir malicious distaffs, could neuer wholie supplant the fertill groue of this courageous & noble progenie. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this daie beareth, with the felo slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enemies fort? The Giraldines; Who are they*

that defend their countrie: the Giraldines. Who are they that make the enemie quake in his skin: The Giraldines. And who are they whome enuie backbiteth? The Giraldines. If it had stood with the good fortune of the Giraldines, that the king with equall balance would poise their valure, long yer this had all Ireland bene put in quiet and peaceable state, But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Wherto Cambrensis.

And soothlie, as often as I call to mind the sateng of this historiographer, I may not but muse how sompe he hitteth the naile on the head. And who is will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written about 400 yeares and byward) with this age of ours, shall some perceiue, that these words were rather prophesies of future mishap, than complaints of former intaries. At this daie let them behaue themselves valiantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such standers are raised, such rumors noised, such tales bryted, such fables twittled, such vntrue reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, unlesse they were able, like gods, to pzie in the bottom of each mans conscience. But who so wisheth anie goodnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the beines of his heart beseech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in beleueing the despitfull reports of enuious backbiters. Seconde, that the Giraldines beare themselves in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious inserchers be not able to depaint their seigned gloses with anie probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious standers be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Ireland redressed. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason god pardie. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giraldine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, banquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue god cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, what shew so euer they make in outward asperance. Thus much generalite of the Giraldines, now I purpose particularie to treat of the house of Bildare.

Maurice Fitzgiral, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Ireland in the yere 1242, at which time he builded the castell of Sligagh. This Maurice was lord of Wreconille, and being entirelie seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moiety thereof to Cormocke mac Dermot, mac Korie. I read the Giraldine baron of Ophalie, in the yere 1270. I haue sene it registred, that there died a Giraldine the fourth earle of Bildare, in the yere 1287. But I take that calendar to beare a false date. Wherefore the truth & certainte is, that John Fitzgiral, sonne to Thomas Fitzgiral, was the first earle of Bildare, and was created earle upon this occasion.

In the yere 1290, and in the eightenth yere of Edward the first, William Wescie was made lord iustice of Ireland. This man being either negligent or ravy in the government of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enemie to indamage the kings subiects more easilines than they were accustomed to do. These enomities being for the space of foure yeares tolerated, the subiects mistaking of the slacknesse of their gouernour, gaue out such sinister speeches of the

Wescie accuseth the lord Fitzgiral.

The lord Wescie's answer.

The lord Justice's reply.

The castle of Sligagh.

Baron of Ophalie.

The first earle of Bildare.

1290 Wescie lord iustice.

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart root. Some after, as the nobles in open assemblies were ripping up by peccemele the fouerall harmes their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speeches to laie the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgiralde shoulders, saying in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in pynat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these publicke injuries he was as meke as a lambe. The baron of Dhalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

These accusations  
to the lord  
Fitzgiralde.

The lord Fitzgiralde  
now answer.

My lord, I am hartlie sozie that among all this noble assemble, you make me your onelie marke whereat to shot your butt. And trulie were my desert so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestors with spending of their blood in their souveraignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this daie (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the higher waie to the wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my blood, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so nere upon your manors of Bilsdare and Rathangan, as I dare saie they are an eie-foze unto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentleman.

The lord Fitzgiralde  
now replyeth.

A gentleman: quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Mesclies were gentlemen before the Cirabines were barons of Dhalie, yea and before that Mesclie bankrupt thine ancestor (he meant sir Maurice Fitzgiralde) fettered his neck in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyxipups after an other fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and billing with me that am thy governour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be chokt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though I delivered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will avow what I say unto thee, that thou art a supporter of theues, a bolsterer of the kings enemies, an upholder of traitors, a murderer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these wordes, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.

The baron byddeling with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in wordes, and replied in this wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you untwapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestor, whom you terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poore he was upon his repairs to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but you lurking like a spider in his captweb to intrap flies, endenoz to beg subiects livings wrongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent lynes. And whereas you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chyp loglike with you being governour, by answering your snappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I wold wish you to understand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge me with the obious termes of traitor, murderer, and the like, and therewithall you wish me to resolve my

selfe, that you rest upon reason, not upon rage: if these wordes proceed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sozie that the governour, who ought by vertue of his publicke authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of pynat malice become mine accuser.

But if you utter these speeches as a privat person, then I John Fitzgiralde, baron of Dhalie, do tell thee William Mesclie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are supported, the meane and instrument by which his maiesties subiects are dailie spoiled. Therefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that thalt thou well understand when we both shall be brought to the reherfall of these matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the time you beare office, I am resolved to giue you the mastrie in wordes, and to suffer you like a byalling cur to barkie, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite.

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie wordes, and deepe othes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Dhalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, squadded with all hast into England, where he was no longer inhored, than Mesclie, after he had substituted William Haie in his roome, was imbarcked, making as hot foot after the baron as he could. The king and his counsell understanding the occasion of their sudden arrivalls, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set daie for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Whereupon Mesclie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

The lord Fitzgiralde  
now saith  
into England

Mesclie  
saith  
loweth.

My dread soueraigne, as I most acknowledge my selfe somewhat agreed, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so bright an umpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsell, that I, as unworthie, should haue the government of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subiects, haue bene, I may not denie it, diuertlie annoied, for my discharge, as I saide in Ireland: so I know here in England, that he knoweth here before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Dhalie) that is the rot and crop of all these enozmities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frolone at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force doth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incourage them: To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages, imboldened your maiesties enemies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall presence, in secret meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these burlic burlies, that through his traitorous dists were inkindled. These and the like enozmities through his priuie packing with rebels being dailie committed, to bring me your maiesties governour in the hatred of the people, his adherents, both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed against me and my government, as though the rebellion of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

Mesclie  
saith  
oration.

Whereupon being in conference with such as were the chieftains of your realme of Ireland, at  
beit

The castle of  
Dunlough,  
Ireland.

Baron of  
Dhalie.

The first  
of Bilsdare.

1290  
Mesclie  
lord  
iustice.

# The description of Ireland.

“bett I take it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the verie linke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding hauing more regard to modestie, than to the deserts of the baron of Dphalie, I did but glance at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a verie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse doth sonest kicke, so this gentelman being prickt, as it should seme with the sting of his guiltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he take me vp so roughly, as though I had bene rather his vnderling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitfull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent Trens, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall be booked against him. When Mescie had ended, the baron of Dphalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The lord Gualors oration.

Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne, were master Mescie his mouth so full a measure, as that he spake, should be holden for gospel, this had bene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing would glablie proue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponder both our tales, I am thoroughlie perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to small purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath bene generallie budled vp, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a suppozer of theues, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premisses, all his gale glofe of glittering speeches would suddencie fade awaite. Yea, but he craueth respite for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Wherein he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menacing wordes, to schoule his asse in philosophie, so he had seuen yeares respite; because that in that space he was perswaded, that either the tyrant, the asse, or he would die. In likewise master Mescie, vpon respite granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortned; or that I, in tract of time, would be disfaunored; or that he by one subtill prankie or other should be of this heauie load disburdened.

But if I haue bene as manie yeares a malefactor as he aduoucheth, how hapneth it, that his tongue was tied before this late dissection begun? While did he not from time to time aduertise the counsell of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probable coniectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your rotall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Mescie hath done, or to craue further respite for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels, where I perswaded master Mescie,

that you were able to proue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so depelle strong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespasses, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denying my faults, to stand to the rigour of his iustice.

And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Mescie, haue had in your chamber with colwers. For it hath bene manifestlie apparented, that when the baron of Dphalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue bene imbarred from entering your chamber, an Irish colw should haue at all times access to you. Yea, master Mescie: a colw, an horse, an hawk, and a silver cup haue bene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subiects were preiudged, you would be content to winke at their miserie, so that your mouth were stoppt with libertie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie together, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare thift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you dastie did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse juggling tricke, you may so easilie dulse or dazell our eyes. Can anie man that is but slenderlie twisted, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Mescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to be sturre himselfe, he were able to ferret out such barebreech hats as swarme in the English pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his dissolutie?

Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Because the baron of Dphalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie, therefore the deputie may not banquish weake and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Dphalie: whereas the contrarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magistrat doe, that hath the princes paie? But in deed it is hard to take bares with fores. You must not thinke, master Mescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen your selfe vp within a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the subiects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather the birds whilst other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie haue committed.

But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, I am knotone to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng for barlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chattering for twatlers, scolding for callets, booking for scriueners, pleading for latopers; and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to doe our mutuall quarrels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that thou Mescie art an archtraitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemblie, I chalenge the combat. Whereat all the auditozie shouted.

Now in good faith, quoth Mescie, with a right god will. Whereupon both the parties being dismiss until the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counsell, that the fittest triall should haue bene by battell. Wherefore the parties being as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small provision was made for so eager

rage  
beere  
Mescie  
to be  
ship  
phal  
into  
rela

The first rule  
of Mescie  
created.  
1318

The number  
of the  
copies of  
Mescie.

Lord Gualors  
lit

Carle of D  
mon.  
1247  
The Bate  
Mescie  
as I am  
informed  
are  
found by  
ancient  
records  
to haue  
bene  
copies of  
the  
Carrie.  
1299  
1309  
1312  
1313  
1315  
1316  
1322  
1329  
1429  
1327  
The first earl

The combat  
challenged.



eager a combat, as that was preposited to have here. But when the prefixed daie approached nere, Eusebe turning his great boast to small roff, began to crie creake, and secretlie sailed into France. King Edward thereof advertised, bestowed Eusebes lordships of Kildare and Rathangan on the baron of Ophalie, saieing that albeit Eusebe conueied his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Kildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fourteenth of Hiale. He deceased at Larraghbyne (a village nere to Dainoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Kildare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie indued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the seuerall assaults of diuerse enemies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now liueth is the tenth earle of Kildare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which truelie in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now liuing as his ancestors before him, haue bene shrewdly shoued at by his euill willers, saieing that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the possie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

*Quid possim, iactant: quid vellem, sine recusant:  
Vtraque Regina sint, rogo, nota mee.*

His eldest sonne is lord Giralde, baron of Ophalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

*Te pulchrum natura facit, fortuna potentem,  
Te facit Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.*

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Desmond and Deserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and worthie seruitors in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carricke and John Cogan were lord iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castell of Arkelow, in the yeare 1285. His lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turue, and his bodie was conueighed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, vpon the repaire of John Morgan (who before was lord iustice) to England, besieged the Obzenies in Glindalozie: and were it not that they submitted themselves to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onelie for a season vanquished, but also utterlie by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernement such an encourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dubb on saint Michael the archangels daie thirtie knights in the castell of Dublin. He was a scourge vnto the Scots that invaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited O'mourgh a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Balie Ieshan. After diuerse victorious exploits by him atchieued, he sailed into England, and so to Hispaine in pilgrimage to saint James. Vpon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conueied into Ireland was intombed at Balligauran.

James Butler earle of Desmond was lord iustice of Ireland, in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Thurles was dubb knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time sir James Butler, sir John Butler, sir Rafe Butler, were in like manner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Hereford's daughter, was prefer-

red to the earledome of Desmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell vpon the heires generall, lastlie vpon sir Thomas Butler earle of Wiltshire, after whome it reuerled to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossorie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince. His verie name is Wecket, who was aduanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturberie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Thurles. For the earle now liuing these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

*Magnus animi, maiorq; pater, sed natus vtroq;  
Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.*

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice Belmounde fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, some after that Butler became earle of Desmond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now liuing, thus speaketh:

*Engh tandem, iactatus fluctibus alii,  
Et precor in portu sit mea tuta ratis.*

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Glenrickard, Glenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes haue bene ancient noble men before their comming to Ireland: and in old time they haue bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enikelline. His verse is this:

*Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,  
Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.*

Connogher Obzen earle of Desmond: the name of earle giuen to Spurragh Obzen for fearme of life, and after to Donogh Obzen, in the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, now confirmed to the heires males, his eldest sonne is baron of Zbacan. Vpon the erle now liuing this fantasie was deuised:

*Non decet exteros sine causa, quare reges,  
Cum licet in tuta vivere pace domi.*

Mac Cartie Poze earle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Roch. Peter, son Vicount of Gormanstowne: wherinto is lately annexed the baronie of Latonedesse. One of their ancestors sir Robert Dreffon, then chiefe baron of the ercheber, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman married in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham la- die of Carbyrie, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death sir Robert Dreffon was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castell, whereby the subiects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoied.

There hath bene another sir Robert Dreffon of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now liuing. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the first yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, he was deputie to Zaper, duke of Bedford, erle of Penbrooke, a lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall recetuer of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiselie this noble man behaued himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he bequit himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seventh his letters to him being deputie, addressed, do manifestlie witnesse. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seventh. Sir Christopher Dreffon was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Dreffon was lord iustice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient, planted in Lancashire.



# The description of Ireland.

38  
**Preston** came from Lancashire. and from thence he parted into Ireland, being to this daie seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Preston. The vicount now living speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:  
*Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,  
 Nota esset patrie mens mea firma mea.*

142  
**Balkinglasse.** Cusface alias Polwar, vicount of Balkinglasse, lord of Kilkullen to him and his heires males, the fourre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Their ancestor Robert de Polwar was sent into Ireland with commission, and his offspring hath resided there since the yeare 1175. Polwar alias Cusface is written baron of Downe in the yeare 1217. The vicounts poeise now living is this that followeth:  
*Cum bonus ipse maneat, non laus magna putatur,  
 Prudenter cuius posse placere viro.*

150  
**Mountgarret.** Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgarret to him and his heires males in the first yeare of Edward the first. Vicount Dece. Lord Bermingham baron of Athenrie, now degenerate and become méere Irish, against whome his ancestors served ballantlie in the yeare 1300. John Bermingham baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de alio Dei, in the yeare 1318. Mac Maurice, alias Fitzgerald, baron of Kerie. L. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now living thus speaketh:  
*Slavus inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,  
 In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.*

155  
**Willins.** Plunket baron of Willins, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Plunket lord of Willins, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Willins, grauen on his towe. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poeise:  
*Ornant viucentem maiorum gesta meorum,  
 Talia me nequeunt vicia cadente morti.*

160  
**Deluine.** Nugent baron of Deluine, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Nugent, or Nugent, came into Ireland, with sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and ballant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of fourre, and of Deluine by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Nugent, otherwise called Richardus de Capella, the house of Deluine is descended. In a conuenance past from sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: *Dedi & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluine, & totam terram meam in Anglia.* The baron now living & louing his countrie thus speaketh:  
*In patria natus, patrie prodesse laboro,  
 Viribus in castris, consilij domi.*

165  
**Woluth.** S. Laurence, baron of Woluth, significng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:  
*Si redamas, redas, si spernas, sperno. Quid ergo?  
 Non licet absq. tui viuere posse bonis?*

170  
**Dunfanie.** Plunket baron of Dunfanie. Vpon the baron now living, this deuise was framed as you see:  
*Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,  
 Dux tam praeclaro stemmate dignus eris.*

175  
**Trinlestowne.** Barnewall baron of Trinlestowne. They came from litle Brittain, where they are at this day a great surname. Vpon their first arriual, they wan great possessions at Weirhaueu, where at length by conspuracie of the Irish they were all slaine, except one young man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Drunnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this daie are settled. This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname,

beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland: howbeit of late it hath bene greatlie maintained thozough the decess of three worthie and famous Barnewalls. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of Trinlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolved for the whetting of his wit, which nathelesse was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he toke in his studie, to haue spt vp the vertie sap of the common law, and vpon this determination sailing into England, sickeneth himselfe after at a worshipfull matrones house at Cornberie, named Margaret Tiler, where he was to the great grée of all his countrie pearled with death, when the weale publike had most need of his life. The second Barnewall that deceased was M. Marcus Barnewall of Donbroa, whose credit and authoritie had it bene correspondent to his valure and abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue bene accounted as ante in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was sir Christopher Barnewall knight, the lanternie and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnished as well with the knowlege of the Latine tong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A deepe and a wise gentleman, spare of speech, and therewithall pitie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in anie pleasant conceipt rather giuen to smiler than smile, verie bysight in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as stele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a god quarell, a great householder, sparing without pinching, spending without wastage, of nature mild, rather choosing to please where he might harme, than willing to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the thre and twentieth of Julie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Tarnie the first of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countrie, vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consistng of sixtene verses.

*Leta tibi, sed mea tua mors accidit ista,  
 Regna dat alia tibi, damna dat ampla tui.  
 Latus es in caelis vltimo sine fine triumphans,  
 Mactatus at in terris diues inopsque iacet.  
 Nam sapiente caret diues, qui paria gubernet,  
 Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.  
 Te gener ipse caret, viduae te rusticata turba,  
 Atque urbana cohors, te (sacer alma) caret.  
 Non est digna viro talis re publica tanto,  
 Nam sanctus sedes non nisi sancta decet.  
 Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, non ficta reuoluo,  
 Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.  
 Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.  
 Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.  
 Vixus es in caelo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,  
 Vixus ut in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.*

For the lord of Trinlestowne now living, describing a name of fame after death, this was deuised.  
*Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors sua negauit,  
 Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.*

Edward Butler baron of Donbrou, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. For the baron now living, these verses are made.  
*Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris,  
 Filius optato tramite cuncta gerit.*

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatricke baron of Upper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Cullopatrike and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonnagh apachgula

strike  
 Strie  
 serie  
 sege  
 Clie

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

144  
 144  
 144  
 144  
 144

erke was a p̄releſſe warriour in the yeare 1219. Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, now lord of vpper Deſerie, was knighted by the duke of Norfolke at the ſiege of Leith in Scotland: in the beginning of Q. Elizabeths reigne, for whom theſe verses are made:

*Principi in gremio ſummi nutritus & alim,  
Hauit ab illuſtri regia dona ſchola.*

Plunket, baron of Louth, to ſir Chriſtopher Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of H. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome pertaining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316, & ſoner. For the baron now living, this was deuſed:

*Nobilis, ingenium, firmus quoque firmus amicus,  
Nubila ſeu celum luxue ſerena regat.*

Ouelle, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earldome of Eron was intailed by gift of king Henrie the eight. Potwar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac Surtan, lord Deſert, his anceſſors were lords in the time of Lonell duke of Clarence, earle of Ulſter, in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Iriſh. Purragh O'Brien, baron of Inſtrahone, to him and his heires males, in the ſine and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. There are beſides theſe noble men, certaine gentlemen of worſhip, commonlie called baronets, whom the ruder ſort doth regiſter among the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie barons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named neither barons, nor baronets, but banrets.

He is properly called a banret, whoſe father was no carpet knight, but dubbed in the field under the banner or enſigne. And becauſe it is not vſuall for anie to be a knight by birth, the eldeſt ſonne of ſuch a knight with his heires, is named a bannerret, or a banret. Such are they that here inſue. Sentleger, banret of ſlemarge, mere Iriſh. Den, banret of Poamanſdowne, waring Iriſh. Fitzgiralde, banret of Burnedurch. Mellesle, banret of Porragh, Iriſhe, banret of Caltrim. Saint Pigbell, banret of Scrine. And ſangle, banret of the ſaun. Engliſh gentlemen of longeſt continuance in Ireland are thoſe, which at this day either in great powertie or perill doe haue their properties of their anceſſors lands in Ulſter, being then companions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that part. Theſe are the Saunages, Jordans, Fitz Solmons, Chamberleins, Kufſels, Benſons, Audleies, Whites, Fitz Arſulies, now degenerat and called in Iriſh Mac Spahon, the Beares ſonne.

The names or ſurnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote.

The ſeuenth chapter.



Adericus, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barboſus, becauſe of his long beard, a learned man, greatlie in old time renowned in Ireland. But for as much as in his age the countrie was not ſtored with ſuch as imploied their labors in gathering together the ſaiengs and doings of ſage perſons, the diſcontinuance of his ſame is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the time, than to the want of his deſerts. He flouriſhed in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned phyſician. James Archer a ſtudent of diuinitie. Argobaſtus, the ſecond biſhop of Argentine, ſucceſſor to the holie prelat ſaint Amand, boine in Ireland, a learned and deuout clerke: who leaning his countrie and living in heremit wiſe, in certaine ſolitarie places of France, inſtructed the people of that realme in the feare of God, and the knowlege of the ſcriptures.

In his preaching he was noted to haue ſingular grace, and ſo proſperous ſucceſſe, that ſuch as were by anie worlde miſadventure afflicted, vpon the hearing of his godlie ſermons would ſuddenlie be comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduertified of his learning and vertue, cauſed him to be ſent for, vſing him as his chiefe counſellor in all his weightie affaires; and after aduanced him to be biſhop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies. He deceaſed in the yeare 658: & was buried hard by a gibbet nere the citie, pitcht on the top of an hill called ſaint Michaels hill, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his maiſter Chriſt, who did vouchſafe to ſuffer without the citie of Ieruſalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed. Barnwall. Biadie & preacher. Brendan an abbat boine in Connagh, in his youth trained vnder Hercules a biſhop: mid being further kept in yeares, he traueled into England, where he became a profeſt monke, vnder an abbat named Congellus. he flouriſhed in the yeare 560: and wrote theſe bookes inſuing. Confellio chriſtiana lib. 1. Charta cœleſtis hereditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1.

Edmund Bernerden a ſtior, he proceeded doctor Bernerden of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Brigide the virgine, boine in Leinſter, ſhe flouriſhed in the yeare 510: ſhe wrote a booke of hir reuelations. Botone a ciuitian. Burnell. Butler a Waterfordian, ſometime ſcholer to maiſter Peter White; he translated Maturinus Corderius his booke of phraſes into Engliſh, in the yeare 1562. James Caddell, he wrote Diuerſa epigrammata. Carberie a profound ciuitian. Cellus archbiſhop of Armagh, boine in Ireland, and ſcholed in the vniuerſitie of Oxford, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1128: he wrote theſe bookes following. Teſtamentum ad eccleſias lib. 1. Conſtitutiones quædam lib. 1. Ad Malachiam epiſtolæ complures. Clere, boine in Kilkeny, and proceeded maiſter of art in Oxford. John Clin boine in Leinſter, being profeſt a greie ſtuer, he beſtowed his time in preaching, chiefe in the towne of Kilkenie. This man was a god anti-quarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginning at the natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſtretching to the yeare 1350: in which yeare he flouriſhed. He wrote theſe bookes following. Annalium chronicon lib. 1. De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De cuſtodijſ prouinciarum lib. 1. De Franciſcanorum cœnobijſ & eorum diſtinctionibus lib. 1.

Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuerſitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme, a learned and an holie monke, he flouriſhed in the yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro ſocijs Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, boine in Ulſter, and trained in learning and knowledge as well in England as in France, for his learning and vertue, was elected to be abbat. Having traueled diuerſe countries, at length he repaired to Italie, and there in an abbey by him founded, called Monasterium Bobienſe, he ended his life the twentieth of Nouember. He left to his poſteritie theſe bookes: In pſalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Epiſtolas ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduerſus regem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Iriſh abbat, of whom ſaint Barnard maketh great account, he flouriſhed in the yeare 1150: and wrote to ſaint Bernard Geſta Malachie archiepiſcopi in præſentia ſancti Bernardi Clareuallienſem epiſt. plures. Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the La-tine tong diuerſe epigramis and epiſtaphs. Simon Conſell a diuine. Coynelms Hybernus, otherwiſe named

646

Barnwall.  
Biadie.  
Brendan.

Botone.  
Burnell.  
Butler.

Caddell.  
Carberie.  
Cellus.

Clin.

Columbanus.

598

Conganus.

Barnardus in  
vita Malachie  
in præſentia  
Connour.  
Conton.  
Conſell.  
Coynelms.

D. 2.

named

# The description of Ireland.

40

For Boet in  
scul. Scot.  
lib.

Creagh.

Crumpe.

Curran.  
Cusacke.

Dalic.

Darcie.

Delahide.

Deutor.

Dillon.  
Doudall.

Dozmer.

Duns Iohan-  
nes maior lib.  
4. cap. 10.

Dean orat.  
pro Arch.  
poeta.

named Hissorceus, by reason that he was taken in  
his time for an erudit antiquarie, as may appeare  
by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he  
acknowledgeth himselfe to be greatly furthered.  
He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote Multa-  
rum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh  
borne in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote Epistolae  
complan. Responsiones ad casus conscientiae. De  
vitis sanctorum Hiberniae. Topographiam Hiber-  
niae, with diuerse other bookes.

Henrie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought  
up in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by  
reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no  
small credit. Having repaired to his native coun-  
trie, minding there to defraie the talent wherewith  
God had indowed him, he was suddenly apprehended  
by Simon bishop of Opheth, and kept in duresse, by re-  
son that he was suspected to be of no sound religion.  
He flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred  
ninette and two, and wrote these bookes: Determi-  
nationes scholastic. lib. 1. Contra religiofos mendican-  
tes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund  
Curran archdeacon of old Laghlin, there hath bene  
an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a  
gentleman borne, and a scholar of Oxford, sometime  
scholeraister in Dublin, and one that with the  
learning that God did impart him, gaue great light  
to his countrie; he imployed his studies rather in  
the instructing of scholars, than in penning of bookes,  
he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred  
three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epi-  
grammata.

Dalic scholed in the vniuersitie of Paris, ha-  
ving a pretie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he  
made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darcie  
knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke inti-  
tuled, The decate of Ireland. Daud Delahide, an  
erudit and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of  
Oxford college in Oxford, verie well sene in the  
Latine and Greeke tongues, expert in the mathema-  
ticals, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine,  
whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie,  
but is dailie breeding of such learned bookes as shall  
be available to his posteritie. I haue sene a proper  
oration of his in the praise of master Wetwood being  
Christmasse lord in Oxford college intituled, De lig-  
no & sceno, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam con-  
tracta. Deuror, there are two brethren of the name  
learned, the elder was sometimes scholeraister in  
Waterford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon like-  
wise a student in diuinitie. Doudall, sometime pri-  
mat of Arimagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike  
prelat, verie zealousie affected to the reformation  
of his countrie, he made Diuersas conciones. Doz-  
mer a laywer, borne in Koffe, scholer of Oxford, he  
wrote in ballat rosall, The decate of Koffe. Iohannes  
Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront  
of this treatise I haue declared. Iohannet Iohannes  
Maior a Scottish chronicle would faine proue him  
to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was  
borne in England. So that there shall as great con-  
tention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Ho-  
mers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Ho-  
mer was borne in their citie; the Chians claimed  
him to be theirs, the Salaminians aduouched that  
he was their countriman: but the Smirnians were  
so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their  
territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in  
the matter, & therupon they did consecrate a church to  
the name of Homer. But what countriman soeuer  
this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and pro-  
found clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was  
dusked, was a litle spice of vaine glorie, being giuen

to carpe and taunt his predecessor diuines, rather for  
blemishing the fame of his aduerfaries than for ad-  
uancing the truth of the controuersies. Whereupon  
great factions are growen in the scholes betwene  
the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring  
leader of the one sect, and Scotus the belweadder of  
the other. He was fellow of Oxford college in Ox-  
ford, and from thence he was sent for to Paris to be  
a professor of diuinitie. Finally, he repaired unto

10 Cullen, where in an abbey of greie friers (of which  
profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes  
he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4.  
Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta theo-  
lastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In me-  
taphysicam questiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei  
lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de  
tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Colla-  
tiones Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1.  
De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euan-  
gelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quaes-  
tiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quaesiones predicamento-  
rum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categori-  
as Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quadam lib. 1.  
Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Cusacke a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good schole-  
man, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hun-  
dred thirtie and six. Oliver Cusacke a stu-  
dent of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanician,  
and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Cusacke a gen-  
tleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learn-  
ing by vertue. Maurice Cusacke a student of di-  
uinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a  
saire liuing, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from  
the world.

Fagan a batchelor of art in Oxford, and a  
scholeraister in Waterford. Daniell Ferralle, a  
diuine and a scholeraister. Fergusius son to Fer-  
quhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots,  
whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke,  
the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irish  
man. He flourished in the yeare of the world three  
thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before  
the incarnation two hundred ninetic and two, in the  
five and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by  
misaduenture drowned nere a rocke in the north  
of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carreg-  
fergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made:

*Icarus Icareus ut nomina fecerat undis,*

*Fergusius petra sic dedit apta sua.*

50 This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges  
politice lib. 1. Finnanus scholer to one Peninus  
and Segenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he  
flourished in the yeare six hundred firtie and one; he  
wrote Pro veteri paschatis ritu lib. 1. Field a physici-  
an. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzg-  
ralt, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie  
well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a good  
householder.

Robert Fitzgtralt alias Robert Fitzmaurice  
borne in the countie of Kildare. Daud Fitzgtralt,  
vsuallie called Daud Duffe, borne in Berie, a  
ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike,  
skillfull in physike, a good & generall craftiman much  
like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude  
of crafts, who comming on a time to Italia to the  
great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothing  
but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his  
pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did  
weare, with a signet therin verie perfectlie wrought,  
were all made by him. He plaied excellentlie on all  
kind of instruments, and song thereto his owne ver-  
ses, which no man could amend. In all parts of lo-  
gike, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all  
men, and was vanquished of none.

Richard

Annale.

With  
the vni-  
tosopher,  
namelie  
therelby  
sons. W  
archdean  
magh, b  
reponit  
said con  
were ca  
where be  
De pau  
dicante  
Determ  
archidia  
Contra  
ctucem  
De statu  
rum lib.  
ologica  
de tem  
laudes /  
lib. 4. I  
noranti  
Iudaeor  
Epistol  
librum.

1360

Fuzimons.

W  
infirre  
a famous  
for the  
Henric  
made u  
fault he  
if it like  
the orat  
in god  
we mu  
mas f  
in Eng  
mons,  
Greke  
tie colle  
and a  
ther th  
now b  
scholai  
gent m  
aduent  
in mor  
mata.

Flattibourie.

Whil  
the req  
ralt er  
in the  
teene,  
nere  
Flem  
port te  
Foille  
Fran  
virgile  
led M  
red m  
caule  
peare  
ded a  
wrote  
perish  
firtie,  
34  
ford,

Fleming.

Follans.

654

Furcus.

447

Gaul.

# The description of Ireland.

41

Richard Fitzcrafe, priuat of Armagh, scholar in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, & no ignorant diuine: an enemy to friers, namelye such as went begging from doore to doore, thereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created priuat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for reproving the begging friers. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Dondalke, where he was borne. He wrote these booke insuing: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extrauagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucem Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesie lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones carundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Marie laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De iure spirituali lib. 1. De vassillis Iudaeorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurimum librum vnum.

Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisite learned both in philosophy and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henrie the seventh, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demoued him, what fault he found most in the oration: Tralie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, sauing onlie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in good faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well scene in the Greeke and Latine tong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematical, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michael Fitzsimons, schoolmaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexie Dublinium, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

Philip Plattisburie, a worthe gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tong, at the request of the right honourable Gerald Fitzgerald erle of Kildare, Diuersas chronicas: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstowne nere the seaas. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now living, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned monke, he travelled into France, where through the liberalltie of an holie virgine, named Gertrude, he founded an abbey called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdom. Furseus peregrinus, so called, because he was borne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbey named Coenobium Latiniacense: he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and fiftie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

Robert Carnie, fellow of Quall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken

as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan, a preacher. William Hardit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Henricus, physician, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great traoueller, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he wrote Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1. Diuerse huius, a professor of the arts in Dowla. Derbie huius, a euilian, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Joffe, borne in Kilkennie, a good humanitian. Kellia, oulphus Kellie a monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the Latine tong in Kildare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or locutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or repetic vnder Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased, hauing at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas mas Kenedie, a ciuilian.

Kerrie, he wrote in Irish Catechismum, Translationem biblicam. Cagher, a nobleman borne, in his time called Mac Durrough, he descended of that Mac Durrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Crage: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, borne in Dublin, and scholar to M. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whome being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attaine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidaci, Diuersa epigrammata. Leic, a learned and an expert physician. Leuonise a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kildare, and deane of saint Patricks in Dublin. Aeneas Roghlen, or Mickleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pectie Latinit: he wrote De speciebus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, Theeses ex precipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Peter Lombard borne in Waterford, scholar to master Peter White, hauing imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louane, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniuersitie of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in manie yeares before: he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Darbie Macchiagh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a scholemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sunodie ballads. Malachias borne in Ulster, his life is exatlie written by saint Bernard, in whose abbey he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote Constitutionum communium lib. 1. Legum coelibus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures. Malachias, the minorit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attended to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reprobator of vice, a zelous imbracer of vertue, enemy to flatterie, friend to simplicitie: he flourished in the yeare

Kenedie.  
Kerrie.  
Macchiagh.

King.

1565

Leic.  
Leuonise.  
1556

Roghlen.

Long.

Macchiagh.  
Macgrane.  
Malachias.

Malachias  
minorit.

# The description of Ireland.

42

Ma-  
uricius,  
Hibernicus  
cap. 1.

one thousand three hundred and ten, he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1. Mauricius Hibernicus, of him Iohannes Camertes, thus writeth. *Annus ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, in dialectica, utraque philosophia, metaphysica, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest, quae humanitate, quae morum sanctimonia praeditus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patavino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, a Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuarensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea seculentibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum aetatis suae attigisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima sua doctrina in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam aius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter omnes, dum viveret, & me necessestudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentae epistolae, quas plenus charitatis indicij, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Ex (quanta vere amicitiae vis) post amicitium, relegens soleo assidue recreari.*

There old (saith Iohannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius borne in Ireland excell, a greis frier profess, verie well saine in logike, deepe knowledge in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie pererlesse. Scantlie mate I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was in dued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts manie yeares with no small renoume; he was created by Iulius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was traueking thitherward, being departed frō Italie, by reason of the vppres that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fittie yeares old. He had sundrie workes in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How deere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addresed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, sheweth with loue and kindnesse, too manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Camertes. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in predicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cathill, he flourished in king Johns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and debasing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saith that albeit the inhabitants were wont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: *Vou saie verie well sir* (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is or hath bene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall I trust shortly be stored with martyrs.

Ma-  
uricius  
Cathillensis.

Ab-  
b. 3h.

Ab-  
bonice.  
Abbat.

Ab-  
grau.  
Abbas.

Ab-  
gugent.

Ab-  
buge.

John Plagh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum. Monie a civilian and a good Latinist. Petlan, sometime fellow of Aloules college in Wyford, a learned physician. Patrike Nigran a diuine. Philip Norris a scholer of Wyford and after deane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these workes. Declamationes quaedam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicitatem validam lib. 1. Nugent, baron of Deluin, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. William Nugent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

Dauid Dbuge, borne in the towne of Kildare, for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Wyford and Treuers in Germanie, he

was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, being master generall of the Carmelites, was at iar with William Ioblington, the preuinciall of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelites that then were resident in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Dbuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Dbuge, because he assured himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Dbuge was borne in that countrie where the Stralduines his kinsmen were planted, and thereby on he was banished Italie. This strone in procelle of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. When this he was so politike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of twelght, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotile, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panoimitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deccased at Kildare, leauing these learned workes insuing to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolae 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulae Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Dwen Dethwe, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Dheirname, deane of Cork, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanhurstum epist. plures. Thomas Dherligh, bishop of Kofse, an exquisite diuine, brought up in Italie. Dander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman borne, yet I may not ouerskip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole workes tended to the conversion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetas or Pagonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetius a priest, he conuerted the Island from idolatry and paganism to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hiberniae lib. 1. Historia Hiberniae ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectionis quaedam 366 lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolas epist. 1. Ad Hibernicas ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deccased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith:

*Et tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,  
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pater.*

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifying of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeare 850, and deccased at Glasconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie; but that error hath bene before sufficientlie reprobued. This abbat wrote Homilias lib. 1. Ad Hibernos epist. plures. Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renoumed as Socrates is for

Giraldus  
Bononiensis.

The f  
excellent

Quer  
15

Dwen  
Dethwe  
Dherligh  
Dander  
Patricius

Rock

Went

De la  
bolco

Deby  
Shay

Shye  
Shye

Shu

Shu

Patricius  
abbas.

Petrus  
Hybernicus



*Dunster.* for being master to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholar. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote *Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1.* Plunket, baron of Dunlany, scholar in Katoagh, to M. Staghens, after sent by sir Christopher Warne wall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the universitie of Orford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presentlie perceive, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now by reason of basfull modestie, or modest basfulness are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner steeled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renowne in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and valure in writing.

*Dowdell.* Dowdell, a bachelor of divinitie, sometime chapleine in Jew college in Orford, after returning to his countie, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence flitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his privat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in divinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his divinitie by hearsaie. He deceased at Louaine in the yeare 1573. Nicholas Duemeford, doctor of divinitie, proceeded the thre and twentieth of October, he wrote in English a verie pithie and learned treatise, and there withall exquisitelie pend, intituled; Answers to certaine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diverser sermons. There lived latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

*Kian.* Kian, there lived two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Orford, the one a good civilian, the other verie well scene in the mathematical. Richard archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancelor in the universitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Robert Kochford borne in the countie of Wexford, a proper divine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another Kochford that is a student of philosophie. Koch, bachelor of law, proceeded in the universitie of Orford. There hath bene another Koch vicar of St. Johns in Kilkennie prettie learned. Iohannes de sacro bosco, borne in Holivood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco; he wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphæra. Sedgrane, two brethren of the name, both students in divinitie. Shaghens fellow of Balliol college in Orford, after scholemaster in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. Sheine, scholar in Orford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth borne in Kilkennie, sometime scholar of Orford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michæel Sheth borne in Kilkennie, master of art. Skidmoz borne in Cork, and gardian of Boghill.

*Smith.* Richard Smith borne in a towne named Mackmackne, thre miles distant from Wexford, surnamed Smith; of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being fouretene yeares of age he stole into England, and repaired to Orford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of divinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a pærelesse pearle of all the divines in Orford, as well in scholasticall as in positius divinitie. Upon the death of quene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openly the apocalypse of saint John, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting, or the libertie of fasting; The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of

the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of entwitten verities one booke; Retractions one booke. In the Latin tongue he wrote De coelibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

*Stanhurst.* Nicholas Stanhurst, he wrote in Latine *Dietam medicorum lib. 1*: he died in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure. James Stanhurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper divine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie quene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin before the right honorable sir Henrie St. neie knight, &c. in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne ladie quene Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Coraciensem decanum epistolas plures: he deceased at Dublin the seven and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Upon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

*Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,*

*Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.*

*Præsit orba sophæ, legum rectore tribunal,*

*Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.*

*Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,*

*Pingere vera dolo, fingere falsa pudor.*

*Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,*

*Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.*

*Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem*

*Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.*

*Filius hæc dubitans, talem vix comperit usquam,*

*Nullus in orbe patrem, nullus in orbe parem.*

*Mortuus ergo, pater, potern bene virum haberi,*

*Pius enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.*

Walter Stanhurst, sonne to James Stanhurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi. There flourished before anie of these a Stanhurst, that was a scholar of Orford, brother to Gennet Stanhurst, a famous and an ancient matrone of Dublin, she lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Mattheu Talbot scholemaster, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot. John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexie, Diuerfa epigrammata. Edmund Tanner a profound divine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomæ. Tailer bachelor of art, proceeded in the universitie of Orford, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuerfa.

Thomas Hybernus borne in Palmerstonne nere the Jaas, he proceeded doctor of divinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easilie be gathered by his learned workes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuerse other workes, these bookes insuing: Flores bibliæ, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus demonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs vitiorum lib. 1. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin. Trauerse doctor of divinitie, he flourished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath bene after him a scholemaster in Dublin of that name. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse monke, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue scene diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote

Stanhurst.

1557.

1560.

1568.

1573.

Circa unum Dom. 1506.

Sutton.

Talbot.

Tanner.

Tailer.

Thomas Hybernus.

Toole.

Trauerse.

Tundalus.



# The description of Ireland.

14

Virgilius Soli-  
uagus.

754

Tomo primo  
conclitorum.

Uitagh.  
Vitanus.

Virgilius.

Uitagh.  
Wadding.

Wally.

Witellie.

White.

Wife.

William.

Wolfe.

Wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he flourished in  
the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Soli uagus a noble man borne being slept  
in peares, he trauelled into Germanie, where being  
known for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was  
chosen by Dillon duke of Bauaria, to be their rec-  
tor or gardian of an ancient abbey, named S. Peters  
abbey, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after  
he was created Episcopus Iuanienfis, and founded  
in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his  
time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being gene-  
rall visitor in Bauaria, rebaptized certeine, whom  
he suspected not to haue bene oiderlie baptized. Vir-  
gilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Si-  
donius archbishop of Bauaria, with good Bonifacius  
in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought  
before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius  
held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius pub-  
lished in that point sound doctrine, as who so will  
read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall  
plainlie see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth bur-  
ied in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote Ad Zache-  
riam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

Dwen Uitagh a physician, his father proceed  
doctor of physike in Paris. Vitanus a lerned monke  
fellow to Foillanus, with whom he trauelled into  
France, and with continuall preaching edified the  
inhabitants of that realme; he flourished in the yeare  
640. Gilbertus Virgilius a profess Carmelite, and a  
student in Orford, he flourished in the yeare 1330,  
he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam  
legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1. Uitagh, or Uitagh  
a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding,  
a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine vpon the bur-  
ning of Pauls temple, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa  
epigrammata. Edward Wally, he flourished in the  
yeare 1550, and wrote in English The dutie of such  
as fight for their countie, The reformation of Ire-  
land by the word of God. James Wally, master of  
art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into Eng-  
lish, Giraldum Cambrensem, he wrote in Latine  
Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Wally master of art and student in diu-  
nitie, there is a learned man of the name beneficed  
in S. Patricks church in Dublin, student in Cam-  
bridge, and now a preacher. Peter Wally a proper  
poult, and one that would haue bene an ornament  
to his countie, if God had spared him life, he died  
of a surfeit at London, about the yeare 1571. There  
dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname,  
who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Witellie  
deane of Kilbare, there lieth an other learned man  
of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patricks.  
Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Duall  
colleage in Orford, the luckie scholemaster of Spoun-  
ser; he bestowed his time rather in the making of  
scholars, than in the penning of booke, and to the in-  
struction of youth, he wrote Epitom. in copiam E-  
rasmi, Epitom. figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes  
in orat. pro Ardia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro  
T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa. John White  
batchelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in  
Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata. Andrew White  
a good humanist, a petic philosopher. Wife, of this  
surname there flourished sundrie learned gentlemen.  
There lieth one Wife in Waterford, that maketh  
verie well in the English. Andrew Wife a toward  
youth, and a good versifier. William an abbat, and  
(as it is thought) a looker, he flourished in the yeare  
1298, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1.  
David Wolfe, a diuine.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I indureured to  
heape vp together a catalog of such learned Irish  
men, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found,

Howbeit, I am to request that not to misrepre-  
sent the ample number of the learned of that countie by  
this brieft abstract: considering, that diuerse haue  
bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge  
that to me are unknowne, and therefore in this regi-  
ster not recorded.

The disposition and maners of the  
more Irish, commonlie called  
the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.



Before I attempt the  
folding of the maners of the  
more Irish, I thinke it ex-  
pedient, to forewarne the  
reader, not to impute anie  
barbarous custome that shall  
be here laid downe, to the ci-  
tizens, townefmen, and in-  
habitants of the English pale, in that they differ little  
or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositi-  
ons of their progenitors, the English and Welsh  
men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Ir-  
ish, as those that are borne in England. For the  
Irish man standeth so much vpon his gentilitie, that  
he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted  
in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English  
churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he  
nameth him, Bobdeagh Saronnegh, that is, a Sar-  
on churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie  
gentleman. And there vpon if the basest pezzant of  
them name himselfe with his superior, he will be  
sure to place himselfe first, as I and Dneile, I and  
you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the con-  
trarie of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, frankie, a-  
mozons, trefull, sufferable of infinit paines, verie  
glorious, manie forcerers, excellent horsemen, de-  
lighted with wars, great almsgiueers, passing in  
hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both clearkes and laie  
men are sensuall and ouer loose in liuing. The same  
being vertuouslie bred vp or reformed, are such mi-  
rors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations  
reueine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of  
them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a  
familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead  
corpe to the grane with howling and barbarous  
outcries, pitifull in apparence: whereof grew, as I  
suppose, the prouerbe; To weepe Irish.

Gracie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishon-  
our, and to this end they esteeme their poets, who write  
Irish learnedlie, and pen their sonets heroicall, for  
the which they are boundfullie rewarded; if not, they  
send out libels in dispraise, whereof the lords and  
gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie  
their foster children, and bequeath to them a childes  
portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so be-  
neficall euerie waie, that commonlie fise hundred  
cowes and better, are giuen in reward to win a no-  
ble mans child to foster, they loue & trust their foster  
brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane  
of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well  
fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big & large,  
suffered from their infancie to grow at will, no-  
thing curious of their feature and proportion of  
bodie.

Their infants, they of meaner sort, are neither  
swaddled nor lapped in linnen, but folded vp stark  
naked in a blanket till they can go. Whome they are of  
long crisped bushes of brae which they terme glubs,  
and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to  
crop the front thereof they take it for a notable pece  
one

Their diet.

People.

Collecting.  
followers.

Lia pri. Aen.  
area hincui.

Dalton.  
Gronne.

Kerne.

Highetren.

Colloglasie.

Wardman.

Narrow.

Stalcteller.

Latin spoken  
as a vulgar  
language.

Irish gen-  
tilitie.

The inclin-  
ation of the  
people.

To weepe  
Irish.

Ports  
clams.

Foster  
chil. pen.

The fauour  
of the people.

Infants.

Glubs.

of billanie, after crosses, which they tearme thamm-  
rocks, rats and other herbs they feed upon, oteineale  
and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie,  
milke, and beere-brath. flesh they deuoure without  
bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their sto-  
machs with *aqua vite*, which they swill in after such  
a surfet by quarts and pottels: they let their colwes  
blond, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouer-  
spread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat  
they fanke so much as porke, and the fatter the bet-  
ter. One of John Dnels household demanded of his  
fellow whether beefe were better than porke? That  
(quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske  
whether thou art better than Dnele.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and  
then make a set feast, which they call coshering, wher-  
to flocke all their reteneers, whom they name follo-  
wers, their rithmours, their bards, their harpers  
that feed them with musike: and when the harper  
twangeth or singeth a song, all the companis must  
be still, or else he chafeth like a cutpurse, by reason  
his harmonie is not had in better price. In their  
coshering they sit on straw, they are serued on  
straw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of straw.  
The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set forth by  
Virgil, where Edo interteineth the Troian prince  
and his companie. They obserue diuerse degrees, ac-  
cording to which each man is regarded. The basest  
sort among them are little yong wags, called Dal-  
tins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the  
groomes or hozleboies, who are a degree aboue the  
Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an  
ordinarie souldior, vsing for weapon his sword and  
target, and sometimes his peece, being commonlie  
so good markemen as they will come within a score  
of a great castell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of  
deepe iudgement informed me) a shouer of hell, be-  
cause they are taken for no better than for rakehels,  
or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the stinking  
surre they haue, wherefoerer they be.

The fourth degree is a galloglashe, vsing a kind of  
pollar for his weapon. These men are commonlie  
wieward rather by profession than by nature, grim  
of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burlie of  
bodie, well and stronglie timbered, chiefele feeding on  
beefe, porke & butter. The fift degree is to be an hozle-  
man, which is the chiefeest next the lord and capteine.  
These hozlemens, when they haue no staie of their  
owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant  
knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount  
untill they rbe into the hall, and as farre as the table.  
There is among them a brotherhood of karrowes,  
that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and  
make it their onelie occupation. They plaie awaie  
mantle and all to the bare skin, and then trusse them-  
sels in straw or leaues, they wait for passengers  
in the high waie, inuite them to game vpon the  
greene, and aske no more but companions to make  
them sport. For default of other stufte, they patone  
their glibs, the nailles of their fingers and toes, their  
dimittaries, which they lese or redeme at the courte-  
sie of the winner.

One office in the house of noble men is a tale-  
teller, who bringeth his lord all epe with tales vaine  
and frivulous, whereunto the number giue soth and  
credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of  
congruities, they speake Latine like a vulgar lan-  
guage, learned in their common scholes of leach-  
craft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold  
on fiftene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the  
aphorismes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill institutes,  
with a few other parings of those faculties. In their

scholes they growell vpon couches of straw, their  
bookes at their noses, themselves lie flat prostrate,  
and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons  
by pece-meale, repeating two or three words thirtie  
or fortie times together. Other lawyers they haue lia-  
ble to certaine families, which after the custome of  
the countrie determine and iudge causes. These con-  
sider of wzongs offered and receiued among their  
neighbors: be it murder, felonie, or trespassse, all is  
remedied by composition (except the grudge of par-  
ties seeke reuenge) and the time they haue to spare  
from spoiling and preiding, they lightlie bestow in  
parling about such matters. The Bzeighon (so they  
call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords  
and gentlemen at variance round about him, and  
then they proceed. To rob and spoile their enemies  
they deeme it none offense, nor seeke anie meanes to  
recover their losse, but euen to watch them the like  
turne. But if neighbors & friends send their puruei-  
ors to purloine one another, such actions are iudged  
by the Bzeighons aforesaid. They honour and reue-  
rence strers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe  
quietlie, and by sparing their mansions, whatsoeuer  
outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The  
like fauor do they extend to their poets & rithmours.

In old time they much abused the honorable state  
of marriage, either in contracts vnlawfull, meeting  
the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorcements at  
pleasure, or in reteining concubines or harlots for  
wines: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is  
faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and  
a date of probation; and at the yeares end, or anie  
time after, to returne hir home with hir marriage  
goods, or as much in valure, vpon light quarels, if the  
gentlewomans friends be vnable to reueenge the in-  
iurie. In like maner maie the forsaie hir husband.  
In some corner of the land they used a damnable su-  
perstition, leauing the right armes of their infants  
vnchristened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might  
giue a more vngratious and deable blow. Others  
write that gentlemens children were baptised in  
milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who  
had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse o-  
ther vaine and erreable superstitions they obserue,  
that for a complet recitall would require a seuerall  
volume. Whereto they are the more stiffelie wedded,  
because such single preachers as they haue, reprome  
not in their sermons the pœuisthnesse and fondnesse  
of these frivulous dreamers. But these and the like  
enormities haue taken so deepe root in that people, as  
commonlie a preacher is sooner by their naughtie  
liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his  
preaching amended.

Again, the verie English of birth, conuerfant with  
the sauage sort of that people become degenerate, and  
as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup,  
are quite altered. Such force hath education to make  
or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the  
eies of that rude people, that at length they maie see  
their miserable estate: and also that such as are depu-  
ted to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie  
with confectionable policie to reduce them from rude-  
nes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from  
trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuillitie,  
from idlenesse to labour, from wickednesse to goodli-  
nesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blind-  
nesse, acknowledge their losenes, amend their liues,  
frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordinau-  
ces of hir maiestie, whome God with his gracious  
assistance preserve, as well to the prosperous gouern-  
ment of hir realme of England, as to the happie re-  
formation of hir realme of Ireland.



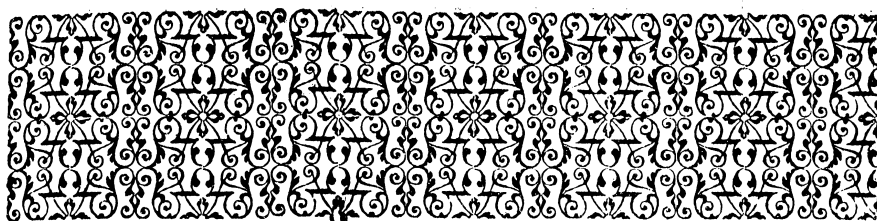
The first inhabitation of Ireland,  
by whome it vvas instructed in the faith,  
*with the severall inuasions of the same, &c.*

The authors preface or introduction to the  
*sequelle of the historie.*



Although (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieflie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peradventure desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, in like sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.





## THE FIRST INHABITATION of Ireland, &c.



Eden's place  
to Noah.

An. mundi,  
1556

Rob. Thome in  
Gen. 5.

In the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to followe for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to forshew his kinfolkes and friends of that vniuersall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & five and twentie yeares. But when euery man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was neece to Noah, hearing his vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certeine hir adherents to seeke adventures in some forren region, perswading hir selfe, that if she might find a countie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Whereupon rigging a nauie, she committed hir selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length she arriued in Ireland onelie with three men, & fiftie women, hauing lost the residue of hir companie by misfortune of sunbrie shipwracks made in that hir long & troublesome tourneie. The names of the men were these, Bithi, Laetia, and Fintan. The coast where she first set foot on land, and where also she lieth buried, is called *Nauiulariurus*, that is, the shipping riuaue or shore. The stones wherein the monie hereof was preserved from violence of waters, haue bene scene of some (as they themselves haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fortie daies after hir comming on land there, the vniuersall flood came & ouerflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale betwixt it selfe too manifestlie to be a mere vntuth, if the time and other circumstances be thoughtlie examined, I will not stand longer about the prose or dispute thereof; sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was unknowne to the world before the vniuersall flood, and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deuise borrowed from Josephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that

Ireland was discovered and peopled by some of Noahs kinred, euen with the first Islands of the world (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, when about three hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie vpon the confusion of tongues, Japhet & his posteritie emboldened by Noahs example, aduentured to commit themselves by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Isles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolenus or Bartolenus, who encouraged with the late attempt and successe of Nimrod kinman to Minus (then notable intruder vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without anie partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his three sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right active and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certeine notable places named after them; as Languine, Stragrus, and mount Salanga, since named saint Dominiks hill, and Ruthurgus his pole. Little is remembred of Bartolenus, sauing that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countie ouergrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people border the gouernment of those three sons of Bartolenus and their offspring, about the space of three hundred yeares. Togither with Bartolenus arriued Ireland certeine godles people of Nimrods stocke, worthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vied their strength to gaine soueraintie, and to oppresse the weakie with rapine and violence. That lineage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and alwaie inuaded themselves where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. The cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their hugenesse of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoroastres the magician, and Nimrod grandfather to Minus. Which two persons fit themselves and their progenies were renowned through the world as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessaries to withstand and preuent all lawfull rule and domination, least the curse of slauiertie prophesied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did: where

An. mundi,  
1557  
After the best  
author's make  
300 yeares,  
and not 100  
betwene  
Noah's flood  
and Babel.

Bartolenus,  
or Bartolenus,  
Clem. lib. 4.  
Cambred.  
lib. 3.

Ruthurgi flag-  
num.

Ireland first  
inhabited.

Giants.

Bergon the  
sonne of Sep-  
tune and bro-  
ther to Tibon  
(as Iohn Bale  
hath) conquere  
d Ireland  
and the Welsh  
reis.  
Guil exam-  
ples some fol-  
lowed.

Rebellion against governours.

Worthie resolution.

Historie too cruellie blood.

Anno mundi.  
2257

Quanus how long he lived.

Forged tales and fables win credit in time, to passe among the unskilfull people for true histories.

Gen. 10.

Upon rebelliouslie withstanding their due obedience from these lawfull governours here in Ireland, and taking head, set up a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subjects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull governours & these usurpers, with daillie raffles and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them that coveted to live in quiet vnder their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one general battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their lives in freedom, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certeine debates and enmitie among themselves, whereby they had infabled their owne forces, they thought good to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and joining in league with promise to assist ech other to subdue their common enemies, they assemble their power forth of all parts of the land, and coming to soine battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certeine houres, the victorie inclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull kings prevailling against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole brood of that mischeifous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themselves of all danger in time to come, used their hapie victorie with great crueltie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despise, & fuller satisfieng of their whole reuenge, they did not boudsafe to burie the carcasses of their flaine enemies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof thorough stench of the same, such an infectue pestilence infused in all places thorough corruption of aire, that few escaped with life, beside those that got them alwaie by sea.

And hereby lieth a basine tale among the Irish men, that one of the giants named Quanus, chancing to be preferred from this mortalitie, lived forth two thousand and one and fortie yeares, which is more than twise the age of Methusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrie: and after that upon request he had received baptism of the said Patrike, he deceased in the yeare after the birth of our saviour: four hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin unadvisedlie registred. But such foolish tales and vain narrations may warne the advised reader how to beware of yielding credit unto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light upon such blind legends. For where some of the poets used for inuention sake to saie such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits: afterwards through error and lacke of knowledge, they haue bene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants flaine and made alwaie in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caues, and there kept them till lacke of vittels enforced them to come forth, and make thirt for sustenance; and perceiuing no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they wared bolder; and when they understood how things had passed, they settled themselves in the best part of the countrie, easily subduing the poore scellie soules that remained, and so retaining their lineage, they became lords of the whole Island, keeping the same in subiection for the space of three score yeares together.

Among Iaphets sons we read in Genesis that Shogog was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere

Canals, from whence about the yeare of the world two thousand three hundred & scurthente. Semodus with his fourie sonnes, Satus, Carbaneles, Amunus, Fergusus, captaines ouer a faire companie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Crete, and taking there such as were desirous to seeke adventures with them, at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countrie, and multiplied the realm, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and sixtene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants preuailling chased them thence againe, so that they retired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should seme) two thousand five hundred thirtie and three, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without forein inuasion, till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and fouretene: but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselves, and measuring all things by might, seditionlie they vered ech other. Which thing coming to the knowledge of the Grecians moued five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, being notable seamen and skilfull pilots to rig a manie, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Semodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutheranus, & Slantus. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they took the sea, and finallye arriving here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants sore weakened through their owne ciuill dissention: so that with more ease they atchiued their purpose, and won the whole countrie, bitterlie destroying and rooting out that wicked generation enemies to mankind; and after diuided the Island into five parts, and in each of them they seuerallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoid contention, they concluded to fix a mere-stone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equallie partakers of the commodities found within that countrie soile.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, euerie cantred or baronie containing one hundred towne-ships. At length desire of souereignitie set the five brethren at variance, & greatlie hindred their growing wealths. But Slantus getting the upper hand, and bringing his fourie brethren to a loweb, took on him as chiefe aboute his other brethren, incroching round about the middle stone for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obtained the priuilege & name of one entier part, & now maketh by the number of five parts (into the which Ireland is said to be diuided) and is called Ogheth, and in Latine Media, taking that name (as some haue gessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the moitie of cantreds, that is, sixtene (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a peece) or else for that it lieth in the middell of the land. This part Slantus ioined as a surplage ouer and aboute his inheritance, to the monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a seuerall kingdom. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finallye Slantus departed this life, and was buried in a mounteine of Ogheth, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. When the princes subiect to him, began to stomach the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of Ogheth, which strife of long time might neuer fullie be appeased. In the merke of these troubles also there arrived in Ireland a newe arme of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

Anno mundi.  
2317  
Semodus with his fourie sonnes.

Irelande: sonnes subiected by the Ogheth, the giants preuaile.  
2537

The sonnes of Dela a Grecian that full in the art of sailing.

They passe into Ireland and behead the giants.

They diuide the countie into fourie parts.

Desire of the seuerallie cause of contention.

Slantus departed this life.

A newe arme of Scythians landed in Ireland.

the paine raised

on no the occid dir hal led All uo Ar kin m of do wi qu m we ga gr the sed Al or of the

2436

sal G a i Wh more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottish historie.

The ruler of Spunda, now Spundago, Wachara now Waga.

Brigitium, She more heret in Scotland. Cathelus passeth into Ireland.

The names of Ireland, & whether of the same were deuised, as they hold opinion.

to the H di n t a



their forefather Permodus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an uprore, that hauocke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselves in pursuing one another with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they receiued to their aid, to keepe by or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same nauie which he had made ready to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Saouate and the Delphinat. But his enterprise into Ireland took small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurgwintius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer intoted the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worke with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare alwaies great plenty. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (vnder the conduct of foure capteins) passed into Ireland from Wiscate, and inhabited that Island, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vsurpation of 780, whilst the Israelites serued in Egypt, Cathelus the sonne of one Deale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon dissension exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends. This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable intertainment of Pharaosurnamed Orys, as in the Scottish historie more plainelie appereth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauesered the seas, and landing first in Portingall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lieng by the banks of the riuer ancientlie called Spunda, & now Spundego, where shortly after he began to build a citie first named Barchara, but now Barfalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Cathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they removed into Galicia, where they also bullded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to susteine them, Cathelus with a certaine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highly honored: for he not onelie enriched and beautified the Irish tongue, but also taught them letters, sought by their antiquities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the manner of the Grækes and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Island after him Cathelia, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, aswell in the miscount of yeares as other unlikelihoos found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, throughly weighed, and well considered. Yet

certaine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuersie old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first took that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Cathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Balon in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welnere about two hundred yeares after their first arrivall there (when they were easiesly pestered with multitude of people) they began to fantasie a new volage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is uncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe gouernour of Balon with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Iberus and Hermon, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Cathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Isles were emptie of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarcked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course westward, honored a long time in the sea about the Isles of Orkney, untill by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appereth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbered with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for ever.

Gurguntius aduising himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholly destroye that unruly generation, took the othes of those Spaniards with hostages; and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & settled themselves in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present bold of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons; that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appereth the kings of this our Brittain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they neuer maintained, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their apperance at the cliffe called in the British tongue Caer Lleon. Whereunto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially aided by the Britons, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning severallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, untill their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Iberus and one of his brethren against Hermon and the other brother. In this dissention Hermon due his brother Iberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

E. r.

appeareth,

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards seats in Ireland to liue vnder his subiection.

The arrivall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Gellie Mon.

The Irish were subiect to king Arthur, westchester.

Dissention betweene the brethren. Such are the fruits of ambition. See more herof in the description.

Brennus called into Ireland to aid one part of the factious people.

Segwin. Allobroges.

2436

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottish historie.

The river of Spunda, now Spundego. Barchara now Barfalo.

Brigantium. See more herof in Scotland. Cathelus passeth into Ireland.

The names of Ireland, & wherof the same were deuised, as they held opinion.

mundi. 317. Iodius his sonnes.

and effects inhabitable of the islands of the giants.

e sonnes de la nation habitant en l'art ading.

sey passe o Ireland, & destroyed giants.

hey divide countie of four parts.

comited.

efire of the reingthe use of barke.

stantius be- rted this.

new arrivall of the Britons into Ireland.



## The first inhabitation of Ireland.

appeareth: although some rather hold, that it toke the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of mettall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, name it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to proceed. Hermitage hereupon to avoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the sovereignty by the unnatural slaughter of his brother, in that unhappy civil warre, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciously nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witness how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certaine captains as kings, to rule under him severall countreies, reserving to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of fifth allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed forth in this wise at length grew to five kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Downe divided into two parts, and some time to more, by usurping or compounding among themselves: but ever one was chosen to be chiefe sovereign monarch over them all. Thus it seemeth that certainly the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countreies about Biscaye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the British do wholly agree:) but from whence they came first to inhabit those countreies of Spaine, verelie I have not other wise to ascribe: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as have registred the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the coming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scota and their people, in manner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermon to Laogirus, the sonne of Dealus Magnus, in whose time that holie Christian Patrike converted them to Christianity. But now in the meane time whilst the Irishmen lived in some tolerable order and rest under their severall kings, one Rodolphe a Scythian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driven round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast upon the shore of Ireland.

These were Picts, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors have recorded) a people from their verie crable given to dissention, landleapers, merciless, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craved intercession, which granted, Rodolphe their chiefe man made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as degenerate from the courage of our ancestors, but fashioning our selves to fortunes course, we are become to crave of Ireland, as humble supplicants that never before this present have so embased our selves to any other nation. Behold sir king, and regard us well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valiant bodies to stoop. Scythians we are, & Picts of Scythia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the civil warre that hath expelled us from our native homes, or rip up old histories to move strangers to bemoane us? Let our servants and children discourse thereof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant us some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our urgent necessity beseecheth your favours, a king of a king and men of men are to crave assistance. Princes can well discern and consider how nere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to uphold and relieve the state of a king, by treason decayed. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more becometh the nature of man, than to be moved with compassion, and as it

were to feele themselves hurt, when they heare and understand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and receive amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scythia: if your comes be narrow, we are not marie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and nurtured to hardihood: if you live in peace, we are at commendement as subjects: if you warre, we are ready to serve you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are here alone, and have left such things behind us with our enemies: howsoever your estimate of us, we shall content our selves therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we have bene, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries: that is, such as were skilfull in old histories and sayings of their elders, whereunto they gave credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breedeth quarrels: moreover, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as Rome in the whole Ile was vnto able to receive them, and therefore those few new comers, being placed among so many old inhabitants, might breed quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of joint. But (said they) though we may not conveniently receive you among us, yet shall you find us ready to further you to be our neighbours.

Not far hence there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you homes to place your selves at ease: we shall appoint you captains to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make ready your ships that ye may passe thither with all convenient speed. Encouraged with this persuasion, they took their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was ready to await their coming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, the Rodolphe with a great number of his retinues, those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licensed to inhabit the uttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfreie Lhuid taketh to be the same, whom the Romane writers name Arviragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seutientie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should seeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfreie Lhuid anoneth) was Aneurig.

But now concerning the Picts, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Aneurigs grant (as above is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Isles of Gathene, and there remained. Whiles they wanted also to increase their issue: and because the Britons thought scoone to match their daughters with such an unknowne and new come nation, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wives from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeld his much to the prerogative of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blood roiall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were well known to keepe unto his time.

But howsoever we shall give credit to this historie of the first coming of Picts into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geoffrey of Monmouth reporteth

reports be the Picts were, that by that said king: intituled I (speaking here againe Britaine) warre for the warre with the I against well by so was then for the I: and Irish of skill, that Cefe have past

Here did dispute Cefe they inhab or in some part of they were Scotland head: we I Scotland etius, who matters of others

Picts as in this I nation of governer Iwiter. Scots of bounds of our faule biting in by the R the Ples to make upon the gainst th

From of boats, Picts firstie Lhu nesse, and they sett that the Scot west par those we their post and Sco of Brita abused: sufficien written on of B And b that th which H thing I warren suspect hath be eloquen report: Noie so

So exte so manifest of detestable that wanteth a colourable pretence to excuse it.

Ireland divided into five kingdomes. One sovereign ruler over the rest.

Picts arrive in Ireland.

The opinion of Rodolphe king of the Picts king of Ireland.

Donbhall consultation.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Picts.

St. Hieronymus. Scythians. 6. cap. 9. who said they should inhabit a portion of Britaine.

Herod. Boetius.

The Irish persuaded the Picts to place themselves in Britaine.

Marius was the same as the said Arviragus king of Britaine.

See more hereof in England. The Picts when they first inhabited Britaine.

The Scots in Britaine.

Hum. Lhuid.

Picts married with the Irish and so the success of their lineage.

# The first inhabitation of Ireland

51

reported of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reuerend that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Panemertinus in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dicitus hath these words (speaking of the conquest which Julius Cesar had here against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirates, and after that against Spithridates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Moreover, the British nation was then unskillfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie used to the Picts and Irish enemies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

Whereby it should seeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Julius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Isles by Scott land, either in anie part of Germanie, or Scandinavia; or else whether they were alreadye setteled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnessie, towards Dungenbie head: we haue not to asseme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants with in this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement here, by anie ancient or approued writer. I cannot persuaide my selfe, that either Scots or Picts had anie setteled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour; but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the wessterne Isles called by the Romane writers Hebrydes, and the Picts, in the Isles of Orkney called in Latine *Orchades*, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie nere to the sea side ouer against those Isles.

From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doe yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfrise Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnessie, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they setteled themselves, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortly the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those wessterne Isles, which Isles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit here in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfrise Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to esseme, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may more safelie beleue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authorities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, euen as he hath verie orderlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it;

so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gesserie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, it was not the deulser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at severall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whom the first is remembred to be Fergus, the son of Fergushard, a man right skilfull in blasoning of armorie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Brechin, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewel, this Fergus obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine soueraintie and rule ouer others as a king, namelie those of the Scottish nation. This stone Fergus bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, it was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finally he was downed by misfortune in the creeke of Knockfergus.

That he encountered with Collus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mistake the name of Collus for Cailus, with whom the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather; for that in the first yere of Cailus reigne the Picts entered, Fergus immediately after them, 330 yeres per Christ was borne; where Collus reigned in the yere after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arrivall of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mistake, by error of the name, Collus for Cailus, and the second arrivall of the Picts for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilist the Picts were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie excursions ouer to visit their daughters, nephews, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine waste corners, and small Islands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Whereof they aduertised their princes, namelie Keneth or Keuda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certeine portions of land beside the Picts. He therefore well appointed passed ouer, and partly by composition, and partly by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finally got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which toke the name of him called Keneth or Keuda, and now Kildesdale (as you would saie) Kildesdale part; for Dahall in the Scottish tongue signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting each other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nested themselves in the Isles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shortly after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memory of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were ready to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gesserie Monmouth the translator not the author of the British historie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine. Fergus king of Scots. The marble stone.

Knockfergus

Keneth or Keuda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

Their falling out.

## The first instruction of Ireland

Write about  
a dog.

wanteth one deuise or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottish nobilitie had got out of Grece (as some write) a Spolian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted perlesse. This hound being slollen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof ensued, as in the Scottish historie moze at large appereth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne ouer the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinth's daies. Whosoeuer it shuld seme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or grehound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grece, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latinists call such kind of dogs *Canes*, so that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grece called Apollonie; it may be, that some haue thought that this grehound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the breed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Caranus  
agreed them.  
Anno Christi.  
288

After the Scots and Picts had tugged together a while, at length one Caranus a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, persuaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was shortlie after to be slaine by the Romane capitaine Allectus. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Sparinus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and joining with the Picts in league, used their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were utterly expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ouer into Ireland, and the Isles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenceforth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they inroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they wared stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselves in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that joining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enemies to them both.

The Scots  
expelled.  
See moze of  
this matter in  
Scotland.  
326

The Picts  
rooted forth  
by the Scots.

Gualdus  
Cambrensis.

Thus the Scots a kinell, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thirdlie and chrestie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came by the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chrestie preuailed vnder the leading of sir valiant gentlemen, sons to Purdus king of Ulster, who in the time of Peale, surnamed the great that inuited the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countreimen there, at length took vp for themselves certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof moze largely in his booke intituled *Topographia Britannia*. Since which time they haue bene ever taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictish nation being diuen into

corners, albeit the mounteine parts and out Isles, vnto this date are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, esteemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Irel and, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Isles called Iona, or Colme-kill, where they speake naturalie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would seme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a revolting from the right inheritors: although they doe confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwise than by forging a tale that they willingly forewent it, as reaping lesse by retaining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the keeping of it they gaue it ouer, persuading themselves that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was auouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was proued in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearly, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such improvement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christes time, saint James the apostle, after traouelling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospell, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beloued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generally conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottish chronicles auouch, that in the daies of their king Finco-marke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictish blood chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the queene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselves, this should not seme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristened Isles, till about the yeare four hundred twentie and six, whilst Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatly decayed there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of arie of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiency of the man consecrated him by shop, authorized his iourneie by letters vnder his

Gregorie  
king of  
Ireland.  
875

Paladius  
brought in  
Ireland.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie.

Patrick sent  
into Ireland.

Paladius ap-  
pointed to go  
into Scotland.

The forward-  
ness of the Ir-  
ishmen to  
heare Pa-  
tricks prea-  
ching.

where saint  
Patrick was  
borne.

de  
bil

The life of  
saint Patrick  
in breite.

Patrick  
was taken pri-  
soner when  
he was young.

Patrick min-  
ister men re-  
ligious.

Paladius  
brought in  
Ireland.

Patrick  
brought in  
France.

by  
bush  
dis-  
he  
pau

Paladius  
landed in  
Ireland.

Patricke sent  
into Ireland.

Paladius ap-  
pointed to go  
into Scotland.

The towne-  
ment of the  
Irishmen to  
heare Pa-  
tricks prea-  
ching.

where saint  
Patricke was  
borne.

The life of  
saint Patricke  
the bishop.

Patricke  
was sent  
into  
Ireland  
when  
he was  
young.

Patricke  
was  
sent  
into  
Ireland  
when  
he was  
young.

Patricke  
was  
sent  
into  
Ireland  
when  
he was  
young.

scale, furnished his wants, and associating to him  
such religious persons and others as were thought  
necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible  
with great solemnitie, & other monuments in fur-  
therance of his good speed. At length he landed in  
the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right  
hardlie with his life into the Isles adjoining, where  
he preached the gospel, and converted no small  
number of Scots to the christian belife, and purged  
that part that was chaffened from the infection of  
the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at  
large appereth. He was required by the Scots that  
inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Isles and  
come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in  
the waie of true saluacion, to the which with the  
popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bi-  
shop of Rome the more readilie condescended there-  
to for that in the instant time, when Paladius was  
to depart, one Patricke attended at Rome, suing for  
licence to be sent into Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Paladius might  
passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed  
Patricke to go with authoritie from him into Ire-  
land; where, vpon his arrival he found the people so  
well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to  
their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would  
haue thought that had sene their readines, how that  
the land had bene referued for him to conuert. And  
because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall  
benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought  
good in following our author herein, to touch some  
part of the course of his life. This Patricke in Latine  
called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt  
England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side  
called Ciburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a  
deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named  
Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous  
bishop of Towern in France.

Patricke of a child was brought vp in learning,  
and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to  
deuotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with  
Scots and Picts were become archpirats, for dis-  
quieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and  
vied to sacke little small villages that late scattered  
along the shore, and would often lead a waile captiue  
the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it  
chanced, Patricke being a lad of sixteen yeares old,  
and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken a-  
mong other, and became slave to an Irish lord called  
Macuaine, from whom after six yeares terme he  
redeemed himself with a peece of gold which he found  
in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned  
vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie,  
being appointed by his maister to keepe them. And  
as his affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the  
regard of his former education printed in him such  
remorse and humilitie, that being thenceforth wea-  
ned from the world, he betooke himselfe to contem-  
plation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth  
in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that  
in continuance some good might be wrought vpon  
them, he learned their tongue perfectlie. And alluring  
one of that nation to heare him companie for ere-  
cting a churche, he departed from thence, and got him into  
France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the  
conuerfion of the Irish people, whose babes yet vi-  
blye seemed to him in his dreames (stom out of  
their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

In this purpose he sought out his uncle Martine,  
by whose means he was placed with Germainus the  
bishop of Auxerre, continuing with him as scholer &  
disciple for the space of sixtie yeares: all which time  
he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures,  
prayers, and such godlie exercises. When at the age of

threescore and two yeares, being renowned through  
the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and skill,  
he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his  
commendation from the French bishops vnto pope  
Celestine, to whom he uttered his full mind and se-  
cret vowe, which long since he had conceiued touching  
Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and pri-  
mat of the whole land, set him forward with all fa-  
uour he could deuise, and brought him and his disci-  
ples onward to their countrie.

In the thre and twentieth yeare therefore of the  
emperor Theodosius the younger, being the yeare of  
our Lord 430, Patricke landed in Ireland, & because  
he spake the tongue perfectlie, and withall being a re-  
uerend personage in the eyes of all men, manie liste-  
ned and gaue good care to his preaching, the rather for  
that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his  
doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those  
regarded his words before all others, that had some  
fall of the christian faith aforehand, either by the com-  
ming into those partes of Paladius, and his disciple  
one Albion an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some o-  
ther: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there  
remained some sparke of knowledge of christiani-  
tie euer since the first preaching of the gospel (which  
was thortlie after the ascension of our saviour) by  
saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continu-  
ance of time Patricke wan the better part of that  
kingdome to the faith.

Laugerius sonne of Deale the great monarch, al-  
though he receiued not the gospel himselfe, yet per-  
mitted all that would to embrace it. But sith he refu-  
sed to be baptised, & aplye to his doctrine; the bishop  
denounced against him a curse from God according-  
lie, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as  
thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but  
after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his  
linage inherit. From thence he toke his waile vnto  
Conill lord of Connagh, who honourablie receiued  
him, and was conuerted with all his people; and af-  
ter sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leins-  
ter, whome he likewise conuerted. In Pouinster he  
found great friendship and sauour by means of an  
earle there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured  
him highlie, and gaue him a dwelling place in the  
east angle of Armagh called Sozra, where he erec-  
ted manie celles and monasteries, both for religious  
men and women. He trauelled thirtie yeares in prea-  
ching through the land, planting in places conueni-  
ent bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous  
conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God,  
established the faith in that rude nation. Other thir-  
tie yeares he spent in his prouince of Armagh among  
his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which  
by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the  
whole about one hundred twentie two yeares, and  
lieth buried in Downe.

Of saint Patricke's purgatorie ye shall find in the  
description of the countrie, and therefore we doe here  
omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of  
the first foundation of churches and religious houses  
here in Ireland, in following our author in that be-  
halfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie  
men and women as are renowned to haue liued in  
Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious  
than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their  
zeale had bene seasoned with true knowledge of the  
scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it  
was, howsoeuer mistaken by the iudgement and re-  
port of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these  
persons, but also of the vertie apostles themselves,  
certeine fantastick tales, which with the learned are  
out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to di-  
uines to discusse, trusting that the reader will con-  
sent

Patricke the  
first arch-  
bishop of Ire-  
land.

Albion an  
Irish bishop,  
disciple to  
Paladius.

Laugerius son  
of Deale the  
great monarch  
of Ireland, per-  
mitted the  
Irishmen to  
become chris-  
tians.

Conill lord of  
Connagh.  
Logan king of  
Leinster.

The earle of  
Daris.

S. Patricke's  
purgatorie.

Religious  
houses & chur-  
ches founded.

Howsoeuer  
mistaken.



## The sundrie inuasions of Ireland.

tent himselfe to heere what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral. Camb.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patrickes time flourish'd saint Bride the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrick, were buried in Dolone (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there thortlie after the conquest. Sir John Contweie being president of Ulster, in victing the sepulture, testified to haue seene three principall isewels, which were then translated, as honourable monuments worthie to be preferred. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Bridget, otherwise called Bride, was base daughter to one Dubtactus, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiving the mother with child, sold hir secretlie (feearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish poet, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there delivered of this Bridget, whome the poet trained up in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

Poet, that is, Magnus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or soothsayer in English.

An. Dom. 439.

The estimation wherein she was had.

The king of Leinster.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrick, that preached then in those quarters, whereupon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled nere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactus as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie isewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sick neighbours diuerlie distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell hould) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to releue the want of those poore and needie people, but to impart the same isewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that thortlie after he came to a banquet in hir fathers house, and calling the maid asote him that was not yet past nine yerres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had don this. She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She professed virginittie, and allured other noble yong damselfs vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monastrie, where she was first professed, untill the yeare of our Lord 509, and then departing this life, she was buried in Dolone in saint Patrickes toine.

She professed virginittie.

An. Dom. 509. Bridget departed this life.

A chorodance of the four euangelists.

Conuuls first in of war, and after a bishop. Abbat Brendan.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hers, there was found a concordance of the foure euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with myssicall pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blush appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull view of the diligent beholder verie liue and wonderfull artificiall. Conuuls that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrick in the see of Armagh, after he had certaine yerres followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yerres was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthie fruit that might insue of their marriage, by

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abrood matrimoniall companie. He flourish'd in the daies of saint Bridget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Adadoc alias Conan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Temore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his scholefellows, openlie adiuured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accusomed, the which being now kept in funder and restraint of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Herupon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deuised and brought a running spring to his monastrie, induring that trouble daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yerres together.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Conuuls the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelue of his disciples through the pears of all the souldiers, and in sight of the king was suffered to baptize the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceived an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merittie to haue objected to Morice then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yerres had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding the other enormities, yet haue spared euer the blood of vertuous men. Morice now we are delinered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought up in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, profited greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awaie from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuerer scholemaister, refusing an excellent cleрке, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youtie full yerres, he became the disciple of Amarius an old recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. There he became a deacon, and at five and twentie yerres a priest.

The archbishop, for the same and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reniued the force of religion, namelie in the vniuersitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they tarred. The famous monastrie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vnckle left him. The same monastrie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbat being spoiled and murthered of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his vnckles assignement, he restored forthwith, and aduanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yerres he was by canonically election forced to accept the bishopricke of Conuuls, a people of all the Irish then most savage and colly, whome with inestimable trouble he reclaimed from their beastlie manners. In the meane while died Melingus bishop of Armagh, after whome succe-

Adadoc.

Melingus.

Colme king of Leinster.

The anliere of the archbishop of Cashill to Giraldus Cambrensis.

Malachias.

The monastrie of Banchor repaired.

deb Pa  
But be  
peares  
trie, th  
such bit  
rotall,  
Bigell  
the par  
custodi  
of sain  
mon p  
a band  
all the  
fetter  
what t  
ting fi  
peter  
length  
The  
contin  
lotti i  
moue  
him ti  
mer li  
the bi  
ding t  
duald  
hopp  
than  
pon h  
then  
woul  
choffe  
of sai  
taper  
sead  
sue ti  
metr  
com  
he fi  
peni  
sout  
he b  
thyer  
and  
ned  
year  
lie ai  
deat  
A  
the  
ched  
admir  
mer  
chilli  
ping  
the  
two  
him  
ter  
in  
bet  
ren  
lon  
int  
po  
ter  
for  
too  
lin  
tri  
ple  
on  
sic

ded Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, more hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the blood royal, in manner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Sigellus or Seale the next of kindred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and stasse, and other monuments of saint Patrick, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiours to haue staine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie souldiours letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Three yeares he sat in the primasie rather to continue the horrible corruption before blessed, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had removed the abuse, he procured Malachias to succeed him in the archbishops see, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishopricke of Coner. But Malachias understanding that in times past they were six severall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishopricke of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to enlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it laie in his choice? He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrick: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale where saint Bernard was then resident, and in the seat of Alsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortly after accomplished. And in this biage which he thus made, he staid at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure forth of this world was come; and accordingly when he had taken leave of saint Bernard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he returned to his lodging, and there on Alsoules date in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue vp the ghost, so mildly and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

Malchus.

Discoyde be-  
tweene the  
king of  
Mounster and  
his brother.

Malchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monasterie of Winchester in England, and from thence was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Bernard remembreth of him, by occasion he cured a lunaticke child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in blessing him. This miracle scene and confessed by manie hundreds of people, was blown through the world. The same time happened discoyde betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was ouermatched and fled into England, where he visited Malchus in his abbeie, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remaine there vnder his rule and government, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poyre cell, vsed daile to bath himselfe in cold water, to assuage the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewailing with great remorse of conscience his former inordinat life. At length the other kings and people of Ireland began to repine at the usurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitch field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother

again, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Malchus and of Malachias could vneth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are worthy to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice anie mans opinion, but onely with the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often bene deceived. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Islands in the north-west ocean called the Isles of Orkneye, and Scotland the seas, that none other nation durst vneth appeare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to seek the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitfull places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellowes chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Caratticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioiced not a litle at this ciuill discoyde betwixt the Britaine king and his subjects.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & vtterlie to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Gormundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thence (being retired into the mounteins and woods) they could not dye them. This Gormound (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Gurmundchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a biage into Ireland, where he sped not greatly to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Gurmound therefore finding but forie successe, built a few slight castles and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was staine. Our chronicles in deed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Gormundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numb'reth betwixt Laogtrius king of Ire- land that liued in the yeere foure hundred and thirtie, and Columding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. When it is too plaine that he could not haue anie doings with Gormundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Caratticus, in the yeare five hundred saue score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be untwisted

Fox,  
Bale.

586  
The Norwegians  
conquer the  
leas, and  
inuaide the  
Isles of Ork-  
neye.

They inuaide  
Ireland.

Gormundus  
an archpirat  
of the nation  
of Norwaie.

Campion.

Turgesius.

Laogtrius,  
430

The doubt  
resolved.



entwined with more facilitie thus. Curmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our histories doe allow him, because he made the waile plaine, intred it a wyle, and set open the gate vnto his countymen. Turgesius attended the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius  
wrote he did.

He buildeth  
fortresses.

Turgesius  
saw him  
and there  
in years.

Malaghlil  
king of  
Ireland.

The policie of  
Malaghlil  
son.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time inuaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and overthrowes: but in the end fortifying himselfe by the sea coasts, & recruiting thereby his friends at his pleasure, warded so strong that he subdued the whole Ile, still erecting castles and fortresses as he went ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengthe of wailes and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so badeled the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirte yeares. He cried hauocke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapel, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Malaghlil king of Irelth was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craued for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: Sauing your fanisie my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of bloud in this countrie meeter befallous for a king than that blowne gristle: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his neeces and cousines, in bowed (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were rauenished, and doting in loue of those perereles preces before he saw them, by reason of such excedding praisses as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Malaghlil ertolled them to prelerue his daughter out of his hands: and the subtil father clocked his wit with modest behauor, lingering time to inflame the leachers folie, as he that wilhed anie thing more to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.

At length, when Turgesius seemed to take his de-  
lateng thus of time somewhat displeasentlie, he bsd  
this or the like speech: If I should fate (quoth he) that  
I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be de-  
flooded, your high wisdom would some ghesse that  
I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were  
dearer to me than your god pleasure and contentati-  
on, by whose bountifull goodnes both she, & I, and we  
all are supported, I were vniuoluntie that secret and  
nere friendship wherein it liketh you to vse me. As for  
the wench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be re-  
quired to the bed of such a prince, sith queenes haue  
not stiked to come from farre, and yeld the vse of  
their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to  
haue issue. And howsoeuer it be taken, time will  
weare it out, and redeme it; but such a friend as you  
are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall  
liue to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your  
displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the  
value of twentie maidenheads; seeing fathers haue  
not stiked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench  
the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agreed,  
name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the  
view of your court, conferre with those that haue a  
decentie insight, & skillfull eyes in discerning beauties;  
I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of  
twelue or thirtene gentlewomen, the meanest of the  
which may be an emperesse in comparison. When they  
are before you, make your game as you like, and  
then if my child please your fantastic best, she is not

to good to be at your commandment: onelie my  
request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your  
learnings, your maiestic will remember whose child  
she is.

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted  
(whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good  
words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same  
daie Malaghlil put his daughter in prince-  
like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and  
with hir thirtene proper yong men beautifull and a-  
miable to behold: and so being sent to the king were  
presented vnto him in his priue chamber, hauing  
none about him but a few dissolute youthfull per-  
sons; wher vpon those disguised yong striplings drew  
forth from vnder their long womanish garments  
their sheins, and valiantlie bestirring themselves,  
first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie  
of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that  
were about him with the like saluoe, they making  
small or no resistance at all. The hute of this mur-  
ther was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ire-  
land: and the princes readie to catch hold on such ad-  
uantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose  
to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recover li-  
bertie.

All Irelth and Leinster were speedilie got tog-  
ther, resorting vnto Malaghlil the author of this  
practise, who lightlie leapt to horse, and commending  
their forward redinesse in so naturall a quarell, said:  
My lords and friends, this case neither admitteth de-  
late, nor requireth policie; hart and hast is all in all.  
Whilist the matter is fresh and greene, and that some  
of our enemies lie still and sleepe, some lament, some  
curse, some are togither in counsell, and all the whole  
number dismaied: let vs present their furie, dis-  
member their force, cut off their sight, seise vpon  
their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie  
to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks;  
not to chase them in, but to rotose them out; to wed  
them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe,  
but to rot them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe  
did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in  
a parable, by what good husbandrie the land might be  
rid of certeine rauening foules that annoied it. He  
advised vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their  
nests about their eares. So we then vpon these co-  
uzants which showed themselves in our possessions,  
and let vs so deströie them, that neither nest nor rof,  
neither seed nor stalk, neither branch nor stumpe  
shall remaine of this ungracious generation. Scarce  
had he ended his tale, but that with great shouts  
and clamors they ertolled the king, as defender of  
their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their  
bold and hardie stomachs and speedfull expedition los-  
ned with their confederats, and with a running  
campe swept euerie corner of the land, raised the ca-  
stles to the ground, chased awaie the strangers, slue  
all that abode battell, ech man recovering his owne,  
with the state of gouernment.

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of  
Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne be-  
fore the wposed time of Curmund, or whether that  
he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it shuld  
be true, no doubt the same Curmund was some  
king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the  
Africans (as some of our countymen name him).  
Which error is some committed, in taking one be-  
themish nation for another, as those men haue done  
that haue named the Hungarians (when they did  
inuaue Gallia before they were christians) Sarac-  
cens. And so likewise might that author (who soeuer  
he was) whoone Goffrie of Monmouth followeth,  
finding Curmund written to be a king of the mis-  
creants, mistake the Norwegians for Africans, be-  
cause

The Irish  
practise by  
Alexander  
son to Irel-  
th king of  
Ireland  
Darien the  
ballad  
fol. 12.

The priue  
on of Ma-  
laghlil.

Saxo Gram.  
Alber. Crantz.

Fridlenus.

Dublin be-  
laged.

Dublin set on  
fire, and won  
by the Danes.

Frotho the  
third.

Calrops  
strawed by  
the Irish to  
annoie the  
Danes.

Bernill go-  
uernour of  
Irishmen  
Dane.

cause both those nations were infidels: and therefore  
sith haplie the Africans in the daies when that au-  
thor liued, bare all the brute about other heathenish  
nations then, as the Turks do now, he named the  
Africans. Wholsouer it was, certeine it is that  
the Danes or Norwegians made sundrie inuasions  
into Ireland, and that at severall times. But for  
Eurgellus, whether he were an absolute king, or  
but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other  
king named Gurmound, or peraduenture Gormo,  
(as such names are soon corrupted) I cannot affirme,  
because that no certeine time is set downe in the  
chronicles which are written of those nations, where-  
by they may be so reconciled together, as sufficeth to  
warrant anie likelie conjecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) that  
I thinke, this Gurmound whatsoeuer he was, made  
no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of  
Britaine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet  
might he peraduenture land in Wales, and either in  
fauor of the Saxons then enemies to the Britons, or  
in hatred of the christian name persecute by cruell  
warre the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the  
heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise  
against the christians in all places where they came,  
and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefest  
cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I  
find not in anie of our approued ancient English  
writers, as Bede, Malmesburie, Huntingdon, Houe-  
den, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him;  
whereby I may be thoughtlie induced to credit that  
which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others reco-  
ded of him, except his name be misfaken, and so  
thereby some error crept in, which I am not able to  
refolue.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of  
the Norwegians, here by the wate I haue thought  
it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish his-  
torie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles  
of those northerlie regions, Denmarke, Norweie,  
and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Al-  
bertus Crantz, and others, concerning the sundrie in-  
uasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Nor-  
mans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland.  
Frideleie or Frideleus king of Denmarke that suc-  
ceeded Wan the third of that name, surnamed the  
Swift, arriuing in Ireland, besieged the citie of  
Dublin, perceiving by the strength of the walles,  
that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine  
force of hand without some cunning policie, he deu-  
ised to catch a sort of swallows that had made their  
nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier  
to their wings, and therewith cast them vp, and sus-  
tained them to fire their waies, whereupon they com-  
ming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles  
the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred  
the citie and wan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third  
of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here  
in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland also, where  
he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had  
strawed all alongest the shore a great number of cal-  
trops of iron, with sharpe prickles standing vp, to  
wound the Danes in the feet, as they should come  
forth of their ships to follow them, for they meant to  
slee of a pntened policie for that purpose. But Fro-  
tho perceiving their deceitfull craft, followed them  
more aduisedlie than rashlie, and so put their cap-  
taine named Bernill to flight, and slew him in the  
field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting  
his owne puillance, pelded himselfe to Frotho, who  
diuiding the prey amongst his souldiers and men of  
warre, shewed thereby that he onelie fought for glo-  
rie and not for gaine, reseruing not a pennie of all

the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of Frotho the  
king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned  
ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in compa-  
nie of Haco a Danish capteine, made a tourne like a  
wise into Ireland, where in the same season, one  
Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who ha-  
ving plenty of treasure, was yet so giuen to coue-  
tousnesse, that by such vnprincelie parts as he plash,  
to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he be-  
came right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his  
subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant  
and worthy men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Sulb-  
dauus; whereupon, when it came to passe that he  
should ioine in battell with his enemies the Danes,  
the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so  
that Gegath and Sulbdaue were in maner left a-  
lone. For they regarding their honors and dutie that  
appertained to men of their calling, would not fle,  
but manfullie did what late in their powers to beat  
backe the enemies, insomuch that Gegathus caught  
Haco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liuer  
appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the  
head right fore, so that in all his life daies, he had not  
before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end  
yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and  
Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great  
slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed  
their king to this battell, being men (thorough his  
corrupt example and slothfull trade of life) degene-  
rat from all warlike order and vse of manlike exer-  
cise.

After this, the Danes went vnto Dublin, which  
towne they easilie toke, and found such store of ri-  
ches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so  
much as he could wish or desire; so as they needed not  
to fall out among themselves for the partition, sith  
there was so much for each mans share as he could  
conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Gram-  
maticus written in effect of Starcaters comming  
into Ireland: of whome the Danish writers make  
such mention, both for his huge stature and great  
manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was  
the verie same man which the Scots name Finmac-  
cole, of whome in the Scottish historie we haue made  
mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme  
that he was a Scottish man borne, the Danish writ-  
ters report that he was borne in Castland, among  
the people called Eskones. Keignitus the sonne of  
Stewardus the second king of Denmarke, hauing  
achiued sundrie victories in England and Scotland,  
and subdued the Isles of Orkneie, he passed likewise  
into Ireland, slue Helbricke king of that land, and  
toke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained  
the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he de-  
parted from thence.

After this, Gormo the third of that name king  
of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a  
cruell persecutor of the christian religion, yet toke to  
wife a christian ladie named Thira, daughter to E-  
thelred king of England, who had issue by him two  
sonnes knaught, or Canute, and Harold, prouing  
men of high ballancie and notable prowesse, inso-  
much that after the atchuing of diuerse worthy vic-  
tories against the enemies nere home, they made a  
voiage into England, not sparing to inuade the do-  
minions of their grandfather king Ethelred: who  
rather reioysing, than seeming to be offended with  
those manlike enterprizes of his cousins, proclaimed  
them his heires to succeed after him in all his lands  
and dominions, although of right the same were to  
descend first vnto their mother Thira. The young  
men being encouraged with their grandfather his  
bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of  
Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or  
Knaught

e like was  
tiled by  
cander to  
king of  
cedon u  
ist the  
sian an  
idys.  
on lib 3,  
109.

person  
Dima-  
den.

Saxo Gram.  
Albert Crantz.

Frideleus.

Dublin be-  
sieged.

Dublin set on  
fire and won  
by the Danes.

Frotho the  
third.

Caltrops  
drawes by  
the Irish to  
annoy the  
Danes.

Bernill go-  
uernour of  
Irishmen  
Gane.

Haco wound-  
ed.  
Starcater  
wounded.

Huglet slaine.

Dublin town.

Keignitus.

Helbricke  
king of Ire-  
land slaine.

Gormo the  
third of that  
name king of  
Denmarke.  
He marrieth  
Thira daugh-  
ter to Ethel-  
red king of  
England.  
Canute and  
Harold.

They inuade  
Ireland.  
Canute is  
slaine.

## The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

Branaught the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement giuen before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to rebound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiancie was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namely of his father king Gozmo, inso-

much that he swore to kill him with his owne hands, whosoever should first tell him newes of his death. This Gozmo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind, hauing small soie of anie worlde pleasures, otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore his wife quene Thira had perfect aduertisement of his sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto his husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to expresse, as thus. She caused morning apparell to be made for his husband, & putting off his totall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to mourners she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessities as were vsed for funeralsl exequies, twinnelless the lamentable grieve conceiued for the losse of some friend, with that kind of morning waed and funeralsl ceremonies. Which when Gozmo perceiued: Who is me (saith he) you then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Where-  
to she made answer, that he and not she did discouer the truth of that which was meant by those morning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of his husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie mourning for his sonne, before she mourned likewise for his husband: for he toke such griefe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorrow and dolor: so as Thira was thus driuen to lament, as well the death of his sonne, as of his husband both at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

The policie of Thira to signifie to his husband the death of their sonne Canute.

Gozmo dieith of sorrow.

We haue thus partlie heard what the Danish writers do record in their histories, touching the conquests which their people made in Ireland; but whether the same be meant of that which goeth before, or rather of that which followeth, touching the trade which the Norwegian merchants vsed thither; or whether the Irish writers haue passed these Iournies ouer with silence, which the Danish writers in forme (as before is touched) do make mention of, I cannot asseme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Norwegians, whether you will call them, did inuade Ireland as well as England, France, and Scotland, in those daies according to the report of their writers, and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer the countrie, as to take preies, prisoners, and booties, and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortly after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards when they saw themselves settled, and perceiued that they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to molest them as occasions serued, they saw no better meane to assure themselves against their aduersaries, than to send vnto their countriemen, which in those daies roused abroad (as before I haue said) in euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for oportunitie to aduance their conquests in each countrie where anie thing might be gotten. And so this mate agre vnto well with the Irish writers, whom as I do not take vpon me to controll, but rather to report the storie as I find it by them written, I will

proceed with the order which they follow. After the countrie was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruile bondage, fell to their old wonted homit, in persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced their fortified towne and castles, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides late more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discoure the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the vse of that which their enimies abused: they began to loth their vniquiet trade of life, to with either lesse discord, or more strength in each mans dominion; to call the danger of naked countries, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castles was a meane to prelerue them from losse. Faine would they haue prouided remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former subiection, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine that rose of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countrie. For the difference was great betwixt the indenours of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thriue, might they get some commodious seats and soile. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staied vpon such a good consideration, certeine merchants of Norwaye, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *ostmanni*, or (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) *Casterlings*, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie *Norwegians*, and partlie *Saxons*, obtained licence safelie to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to biter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these *Norwegians* or *Danes* (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting also with gaie conceits, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) haue towne in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Amilanus founded *Waterford*; *Sutarius*, *Limerike*; *Quonus*, *Dublin*; and so by others diuerse other towne were built as lesse serued. When by the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, steeple, and churches, euerie where were repaired. And this are the Irish mingled also with the blood of the Danes, *Norwegians*, or *Norwegians*, who from thenceforth continually stocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, lining amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow towne, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaires, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leaue. Whelie a memorie is left of their field in *Clontarf*, where diuers of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried before the crosse of *Kilmastnam*. These are by our autho, not without good iudgement, reported to be Danes,

The generall names of the strangers which in these daies called into France, England, Scotland and Ireland.

The Casterlings which will be called Norwegians.

Whelie the great king of Norwaye called Ireland.

Casterlings began to build into Ireland.

They build towne only for a coast.

Waterford, Limerike, Dublin.

The merchants began to raise rebellion.

The field of Clontarf.

Danes called them Casterlings, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie Norwegians, and partlie Saxons, obtained licence safelie to arriue here in Ireland with their wares, and to biter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these Norwegians or Danes (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting also with gaie conceits, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) haue towne in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

No

The general  
names of the  
strangers  
which in  
the said  
France,  
England,  
Scotland and  
Ireland.

Danes, which people then being pagans, fore afflic-  
ted England, and after that France, from whence  
they came againe into England with William  
Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostmanni*, *C*  
*sterlings*, *Romans*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, & *Sue-*  
*deners*, are in effect all one nation, borne in that  
huge region called *Scandinavia*; and as it appeareth  
by conference of times and chronicles, much what a-  
bout one season, vered the Frenchmen, afflicted  
Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ire-  
land. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiving  
great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction  
of the names *Casterlings* and *Irish*, that were al-  
together westerne, and the *Casterlings* not easterne  
indeed, but rather simple northerne: in consideration  
whereof, and because they magnified themselves in  
the late conquest of their countreimen, who from  
*Normandie* comming ouer into England ruled  
there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland  
would algaite now be also called and accompted  
*Romans*.

The *Caster-*  
*lings* will be  
called *Romans*.

Long before this time (as yee haue heard) Ireland  
was diuided into two principall kingdomes, and  
sometime into more, whereof one was euer elected  
and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a monarch,  
whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*,  
that is, the greatest king, or else without addition,  
*Regem Hibernia*, the king of Ireland: the other they  
name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or  
else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were  
to be reputed kings, as of *Leinster*, *Connagh*, *Ul-*  
*ster*, *Mounster*, or *Deeth*. To the monarch, besides his  
allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other pri-

*Harinus*  
was the great  
king of Ire-  
land.

uileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a  
negatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were  
vacant: for the cleargie and laetic of the diocesse  
commended one, whom they thought conuenient vnto  
the king, the king to the monarch, the monarch  
to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the  
metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their  
pallies.

In this sort was nominated to the bishopricke of  
Dubline then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at  
the petition of *Goderius* king of *Leinster*, by suffe-  
rance of the cleargie and people there, with the as-  
sent of *Terdenatus* the monarch, a learned prelat  
called *Patricius*, whome *Lanfranke* of Canturbu-  
rie consecrated in *Pauls church* at London, and  
swore him to obedience after the manner of his an-  
cestors. Christian bishop of *Lismore*, legat to *Eu-*  
*genius* the third, summoned a prouinciall councill  
in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure metropo-  
litan sees, *Armagh*, *Dublin*, *Calhill*, and *Luen*; of  
the which places were bishops at that present, *Ge-*  
*ladius*, *Gregorius*, *Donatus*, *Ebonius*. For hitherto  
though they yielded a primacie to the bishop of *Ar-*  
*magh* in reuerence of *saint Patrike* the first bishop  
there: yet the same was but of god will, and confir-  
med rather by custome than by sufficient decree; nei-  
ther did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest o-  
ther bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as be-  
fore is mentioned) which from henceforth they used  
not to do, inso much that the next bishop named *La-*  
*urence*, sometime archbishop of *saint Reuins* in *Co-*  
*landlagh*, was ordered and installed at home by *Ge-*  
*ladius* primate of *Armagh*.

The power of  
the monarch  
in election of  
bishops.

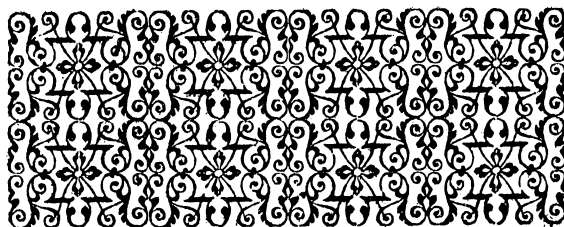
*Goderius*  
king of *Lein-*  
*ster*.  
*Terdenatu*  
the monarch  
*Patricius*  
consecrated  
bishop of *Du-*  
*blin* by *Lan-*  
*franke*.

1152  
Christian bi-  
shop of *Lis-*  
*more*.  
Foure metro-  
politan sees  
in Ireland.  
The bishop of  
*Armagh*.

*Laurence*  
archbishop of  
*S. Reuins*,  
1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall  
vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable induce-  
ment: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending  
(without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ire-  
land, as the same was left recorded by *Girald of Cambria*: whose  
prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo  
immediatlie follow.



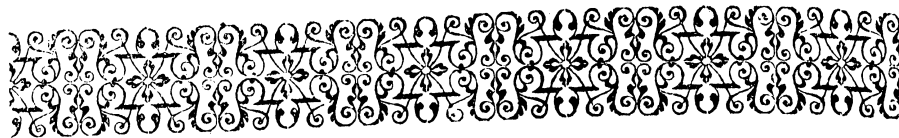
*sterlings*  
can be made  
in Ireland.

they build  
houses on the  
coasts.

after food,  
merchandise,  
subtilty.

the met-  
and stran-  
gers inue-  
sition.

the field of  
bounties.



# The names of the gouernors, lieu- tenants, lord iustices, and deputies of Ireland, since the conquest thereof by king Henrie the second.

The year of  
our Lord.

1174



Richard Strangbow earle  
of Penbroke gouernor,  
hauing Reimond le  
Grace ioined in com-  
mission with him.

1177

Reimond le Grace lieute-  
nant by himselfe.

William Fitz Aldelme  
lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert  
Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in  
commission with him.

Hugh Lacie lieutenant.

1182 Iohn Lacie constable of Chester } gouernors.  
and Richard de Peche

Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.

Hugh Lacie the yoonger, lord iustice.

1227 Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord  
iustice.

1228 Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.

1253 Iohn Fitzgeffreie knight, lord iustice.  
Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.

1258 Stephan de Long Espel lord iustice.  
William Deane lord iustice.

1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.

1267 David Barrie lord iustice.

1268 Robert Vfford lord iustice.

1269 Richard de Excester lord iustice.

1270 James lord Audleie lord iustice.

1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.

Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.

1281 Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.  
Iohn Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord  
iustice.

William Vescie lord iustice.

1295 William Dodingfels lord iustice.

Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

1298 Iohn Wogan lord iustice.

1314 Theobald Verdon lord iustice.

1315 Edmund Burler lord iustice.

1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.  
Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord  
iustice.

1319 Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.

1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.

1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.

1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iustice.

1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.  
Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.

1332 Iohn lord Darcie second time lord iustice.

1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iustice.

1338 Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by pa-  
tent during his life, by Edward the third.  
Rafe Vfford lord iustice.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice.

Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his de-  
puties were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan  
& Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.

Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had  
the office of lord iustice for terme of his life,  
of king Edward the third his grant.

Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice.

1355

Almericke de saint Amand } appointed L. I. 1357

Iohn Butler earle of Ormond } by turnes.

Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild. }

Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice.

1361

Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L.I.

1367

William lord Windfor the first lieutenant in  
Ireland.

Richard Ashton lord iustice.

1372

Roger Mortimer } Iustices and lieutenants 1381

Philip Courtneie } specialli recorded in Ri-

James erle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Du-  
blin created duke of Ireland.

Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant.

1394

Roger Mortimer earle of March and Ulster  
lieutenant.

Roger Greie lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.

Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie 1401

the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at  
sundrie times were Alexander bishop of  
Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the pri-  
or of Kilmainan.

James Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice.

1403

Girald earle of Kildare lord iustice.

James Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the 1407

forefaid James, lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant.

1413

Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord  
iustice.

Iohn lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant.

1414

James Butler erle of Ormond the second time 1420

lieutenant.

Edmund earle of March, James

earle of Ormond his depute.

Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, sir

Thomas Strange knight his

deputie.

Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Chri-

stopher Plunker his depute.

Lion lord Welles, the earle of

Ormond his depute.

James erle of Ormond by him-

selfe.

Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the

archbishop of Dublin in his

absence lord iustice.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to  
king

The year of  
our Lord.

1470

king  
lieu  
pat  
dric  
cha  
mo  
dar  
Thou  
ink  
the  
Ge  
hae  
& t  
Thon  
Iohn  
Thon  
Henr  
Sir R  
Richa  
Ed  
Edwa  
his  
Iaspe

1546 Sir

1546, 1547 Sir Ec

lis,

1548 Sir Fr

1549 Sir V

1550 Sir A

guy

1551 Sir Ia

1553 Sir A

1555 Thon

Sir H

1556 Doct

1556 Sir H

ary

1557 Thon

1558 Sir V

Lieutenants  
to king Hen-  
rie the first.

# L. deputies and iustices of Ireland.

61

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the first his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzcuthace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times these:

Thomas earle of Desmond, } Deputies  
John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, } to the duke  
Thomas earle of Kildare, } of Clarence.  
1470 Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine.  
Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.  
Richard duke of Yorke, younger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.  
Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.  
Isasper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke,

lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin.

Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie.

Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolk, lieutenant.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.

The baton of Deluin lord deputie.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington againe lord deputie.

Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie.

Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie.

The yeare of our Lord.

1494

1501

1523

1529

1534

1540

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

1541

## The names of all the lords deputies and iustices in Ireland,

since the death of king Henrie the eight 1546, who died in Januarie.

1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.

1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, 22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.

1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.

1549 Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 Augusti.

1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie, 29 Aprilis.

1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 Sept. 4.

1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 April.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices.  
Doctör Coren }

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 Ianuarij.

1557 Thomas erle of Suffex L. lieutenant, 19 Martij.

1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.

Thomas earle of Suffex lord deputie, 6 Maij. 1559

Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565

5 Doctör Weston lord chancellor } 1567

2 Sir William Fitzwilliams } 1568

Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1570

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1571

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 11, 1571

Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 Augusti 3. 1572

Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 Septemb. 1579

by patent, 18 Maij. 1580

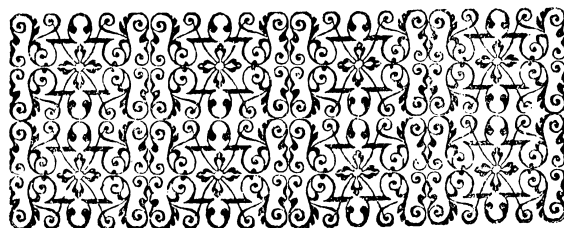
Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580

The lord Arthur Graie. 1582

5 Adam archbishop of Dublin } Lord iustices 1582

2 Sir Henrie Wallop } 1584

Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie.

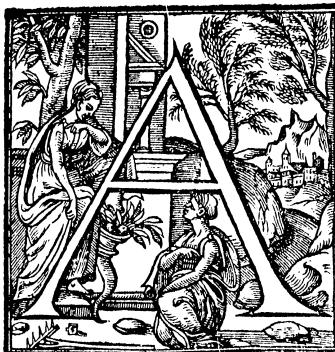






# TO THE RIGHT WOR- thie and honorable gentleman fir

Walter Raleigh knight, seneschall of the  
duchies of Cornewall and Excester, and lord warden of the  
stannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker  
wisheth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the  
increafe of honour.



**A**Mong all the infinit good blessings, right honorable, which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories and chronicles : which are the most assured registers of the innumerable benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doo grow to the church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations. The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first beginning, and immediatlie vpon the dispersing of the sonnes of Adam through out the world : for they were no sooner diuided into seuerall nations, but they did (as Cicero saith) make choise of some one man among themselues, who surpassed the rest in wisedom, knowledge and vnderstanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. These kind of men for the most part in thole daies were preests and philosophers, and for their great knowledge, wisedom and credit, had the charge to commend to their posteritie such notable and good acts as were wor-  
thie the memorie. And as all other nations had such men, so the remote llands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now containing England, Scotland and Wales, had their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wise men & of great credit, did deliuer all their saings in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And these for the better alluring of the people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to sing with an instrument such lessons and instructions as they were wont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuersation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gests of their ancestors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and woorthie the knowledge, by which meanes they made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themselues to vertue and to a commendable course of life, both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeyed, & the common societie how it was to be conserued; and finally how the whole course of mans life was to be ordered and directed. These and manie other like commodities when Cicero had considered, did grow by these means, which is the verie substance of an historie : he described the same to be the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memorie, and the mistresse of life : willing and aduising euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their recourse to the same, and to be well exercised in the knowledge thereof, because the things past are set downe therein, and by them a man may learne what to do in the life to come. For as the wise man saith, There is nothing new vnder the sunne : for the thing which is now hath beene, and by the things past we are taught the things to come. And so saith Augustine: *Historia magis vel certe non minus prænunciandis futuris, quam enuncian-  
dis præteritis inuenitur intenta*: Histories doo teach and aduertise vs as well of the things to come, as of the things past : and the knowledge thereof is so necessary that Melancthon would haue no man to be vnlearned in histories, because *Sine quâ nulla in re quispiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient historiographer of Grecia would that euerie man should haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in all matters whatsoever : and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had faithfullie and diligentlie written and set downe the whole course of the world, the woonderfull works of God, and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or causes of ciuill policies, or of common societie : then he and Iosua assembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them the whole Pentateuchon of Moses to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they should neuer haue that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourse to them, as well for their life, as also for their direction in all their causes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onlie in matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourse for their full resolutions. As the enemies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Jewes, licencing them to build the temple, alledging manie great and sundrie matters against them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles to be searched, whether it were true that had beene informed against them. Likewise when Hamon had grieuoullie complained vnto king Ahafuerus against Mardocheus and the Jewes, charging them with sundrie heinous offenses worthe death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas first preached the gospell at Thessalonica and Barea, a doctrine then accounted strange and new, they searched and examined the books *Num hac ita se haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, so gaue they credit, and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onlie

The first vse of histories.

The first chro-  
nographers.

The first chro-  
nographers in  
England and  
Ireland.

Poets were  
the first chro-  
nographers  
in Britaine.

The definition  
of an historie.  
*Cicero de oratore.*

Ecclesiast. 1. 3.

*August. de ciuit.  
Dei.  
Chronica Ca-  
vionis.  
Thucidides.*

Deutero. 5.  
Iosue. 1.

1. Esdras. 4.  
Nehemias.

Ester. 6.

Acts. 17.

## The epistle dedicatorie.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touding their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselves to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

**Alexander.** Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Trojan wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. Iulius Caesar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the cite of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and dooings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things done in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of fundrie hundreds of yeares, was wont to reueine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things done in euerie their feuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge: for this I dare boldly saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than do the histories of this little Ile of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of bloud, murder, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greuous & irksome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath bene some cause whie I was alienated and vterlie discouraged to intermeddle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the maners and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not bene touched; I found no matter of an historie worthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolu'd not at all to haue intermeddled therewith. Neuerthelesse, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sicknesse, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwealth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the too great and wonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their soueraignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none which haue escaped unpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and the most vnnatural wars of the Desmonds against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age bene scene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breefelie and in effect is as followeth.

The iustice of  
God against  
rebels.

Hen. 2.  
Edw. 2.

Sir Iames of  
Desmond taken & hanged.  
Sir Iohn of  
Desmond killed & hanged.  
The earles  
sonne a prisoner in the Tower of Londō.  
The countesse of Desmond liueth a wofull life.  
D. Allen slaine  
D. Sanders dieth miserablie.  
The land left altogether barren.

The earle of Desmond, named Girald Fitzgirald, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Girald of Windfor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriual into England, trauelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Rochines prince of South Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgirald, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldines; and he being assistant to Derman mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the cheefest and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisdom and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowned for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselves, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, sometime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord Deputies of the whole land. And for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgirald being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the first, in the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and nine. And in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen, Moris Fitzthomas a yonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond; and from thence as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of fundrie hundreds of yeares: vntill that this brainesicke and breake-dance Girald of Desmond, and his brethren, alies, and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and alegiance, did breake into treasons, and shewed themselves open enemies, traitors and rebels, vsing all manner of hostilities and outrages, to the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwealth: the price whereof in the end he paid with his and their own bloods, to the vtter destruction of themselves and that whole familie, there being verie few Giraldines in the prouince of Mounster left to bemoane or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cotage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir Iames one of his yonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a theefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters disperfed and set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Corke. Sir Iohn of Desmond, an other of his yonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the ladic and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, liueth a dolefull and miserable life. His captiues, soldiers, and men of warre, put all for the most part to the sword. The popes two prelates and nuncios, the one slaine in the field, and the other died most miserablie in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left alieue to returne to aduertise of their successe vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the sword, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed barren, yeelding nor come nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finally, nothing there to be scene but miserie and desolation.

## The epistle dedicatorie.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iust iudgement and seuer punishment, vpon all such as doo resist and rebell against the higher powers and his annointed: which is so greuous an offence in his sight, that next to the capital offences against the first table, this is accounted the greatest and in the highest degree. For as it is written, Who resisteth against the higher power, resisteth against Gods ordinances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blaspheme his gods, and curse the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humblenesse, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as his maiesties good subiects dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within his cities and townes can witness. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioice them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and worthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all dutie and obedience; and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in doing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient persuasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.* And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall all affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensive vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was conspited, maie not in you be conspited, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat estate. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

There were fundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in fundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger D'ameri, or de Ameri, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Ameri, who was a noble man and of great lineage, and descended of the earls de Ameri in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladie Elisabeth, the third sister and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died sans issue, he being the sonne and the said ladie Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Aftrouill in Normandie, cosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priue chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Ameri, Dameri of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like manner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparim in the chronicles of England; some greatlie commended for their wisdomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie saieing; Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring at euen song: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in processe of time the honour became to be of worship (neuerthelessse alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vtterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yongest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the yongest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approoued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindered decessed, and inclined his princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wise man saith) *Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, and that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum*: for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the countrie, the parents, friends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communitie and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conferred, & doo become most vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam utilitatem reipublice ac communi societati possit afferre*, and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hieue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth some good therein, because through idlenessse they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*. Idlenessse therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vtterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the countrie, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in

Rom. 13.

The prosperitie and quietnes in the English pale.

*Patric. de insit. resp.*

The descent of the lord warden.

All things haue an end.

*Cicero de offic.*

*Cicero.*

*Cato.* Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

## The epistle dedicatorie.

sundrie respects would haue infused, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also fore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherevnto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colony that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they fought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantatton of a commonwelth, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did seorch and rost them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doe brag and vaunt, that they onelic haue drawne strange nations and vnknowne people, to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their countrie, and thereby doe claime the honor to be due to themselves onelic and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in sundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweeter sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloudshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a ciuill gouernment, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transference vnto the superfluous multitude of frutelesse and idle people (heere at home daileie increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, whiche by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld in infinit commodities? And how well you doe deserue euerie waie in following so honourable a course, not we our selues onelic can witness, but strange nations also doe honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of *Basimerus* of France, to the historie of Florida: and by *Julius Caesar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cullombeados*. It is well knowne, that it had bene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue bene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vfed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue done; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue bene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increafe your talent, and blefse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduerfaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same; yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogue the praise and honour due to so wortheie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie crosses, and haue through so much enuiings and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so wortheie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blefse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelic to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and soueraigne: who besides his great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the stannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doe not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferently. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a paterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis*. And therefore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedigree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *ignobilis mihi videris*. In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim vere nobilis est celsendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blefse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in maxiumall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath bene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelic taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doe aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeavour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracusa, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vfed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

Palingenius.  
 Demosthenes.

Fusils, instru-  
 ments of la-  
 bours.

Agathocles.

White colour.

Gules.

The white colour or siluer mettall dooth teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godlinesse. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excelling all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and soule, dooth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gule colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortal fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doe the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blefse you, & you shall prosper & flourish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to

such  
 to ha  
 min  
 teru  
 had  
 then  
 or vi  
 of at  
 perf  
 Gir  
 He  
 uine  
 the  
 ded  
 rie o  
 the r  
 is th  
 Plin  
 kno  
 and  
 and  
 then  
 be f  
 wen  
 suad  
 to b  
 vert  
 as o  
 shou  
 yint.  
 B  
 in th  
 thou  
 I ha  
 ueni  
 quir  
 chap  
 This  
 eigh  
 cou  
 the  
 fam  
 rest  
 lect  
 lie se  
 in so  
 som  
 you,  
 sent  
 infer  
 g

## The epistle dedicatorie.

such instructions as partlie by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had bene doone in the interuall betwene *Cambrensis*, and my dooings, wherein I found great paines had bene taken, and that the authors had well deserued great praises and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vsing the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more loftie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselves the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In whidi, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth; he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto Giraldus de Windlor, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roefius prince of South Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and proued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleyn to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iornies into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrote the historie of this land according to what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselves beholding vnto him. For as Plinie saith, *Ingeniū pudoris est, sateri per quos profecerimus*; it is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath bene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers, both Græcians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and enlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Aristotle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelic confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne dooings to be so much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned men. The like reason might suffice to persuade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctor, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, predings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselves, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among christians, especially among them of the highest profession, *Non profiteri per quos profecerint*.

The ingrate-  
fulness vnto  
*Cambrensis*.

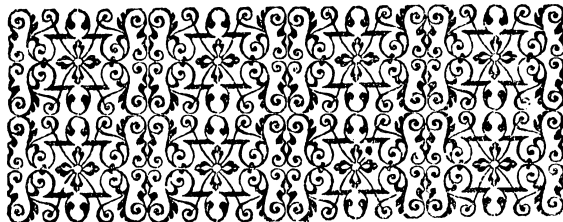
The genealo-  
gie of *Giraldus*.

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be doone with all sinceritie & truth, whidi in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are, whidi, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfullie translated as the historie requireth, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and conuenient for the reader. And because the same so long hense written, hath sundrie obscure things, whidi doe require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subiected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: whidi although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might afford; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doe nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfullie set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desinonds wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithfull seruitor, and therefore can giue some report and testimonie to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doe owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doe offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doe at your commandement. The Lord blesse you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

1586.

Your L. verie good friend and alie  
at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.





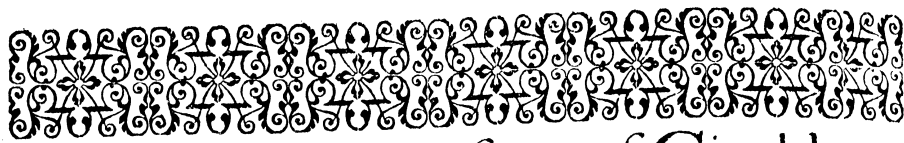
# The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

**I**Forsomuch as in our Topographie we haue at large set forth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein contained, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discovered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presently doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainlie and euidentlie; and therefore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdaine casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set forth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And for somuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yooing men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrased of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainlie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposed indured my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraue my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to depraue me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiekteth therefore and laicth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauen. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the

citie  
ders:  
booke  
vnto  
nie th  
the w  
that  
incre  
dooth  
loth, l  
How  
a crea  
not as  
possib  
ble to  
I wou  
vndo  
and t  
other  
I neit  
as ha  
or ha  
exper  
vse ta  
uellow  
med: e  
do so  
turne  
the be  
ter, by  
and I  
course  
serue  
might  
malic  
in the  
shoula  
& kno  
is a gr  
dooth  
standi  
strang  
compr  
lowan  
doing  
there  
of: yet  
and de  
had re  
or car  
may t  
the

## The first preface.

citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. bookes, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Ifodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xix. booke of beaſts, & his xvi. booke of pretious ſtones, and of their vertues; let him alſo read Valerius Maximus, Troguſ Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of theſe he ſhall find manie things which he may miſlike and thinke to be vntruths, & ſo condemne the reſidue of all the writings of ſo noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduiſed, & conſider well, how that as S. Ierome ſaith, there are manie things contained in the ſcriptures which ſeeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuertheleſſe are moſt true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile againſt the Lord of nature: and therfore euerie creature ought not loth, but to reuerence, and haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. Auguſt. ſaith, How can that be againſt nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicauſe the will of ſo great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monſter is not againſt nature, but againſt it which proceedeth from nature. And therfore as it is not impoſſible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he liſteth; no more is it impoſſible to him to alter and change into what forms he liſteth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written, ſhould ſoothwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my ſelfe do not ſo firmly beleue of them, as of things moſt certeine and true, ſauing of ſuch things which by experience I know to be true, and which alſo euerie other man may by prooſe ſo find it to be. For as for all other things, I ſo account of them, that I neither do nor will ſtand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & ſuch as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious ſtones come out of India, do not ſo ſtrangelie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer ſaw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the leſſe muſe & wonder at the ſtrangenes of them. For whie, the dailie uſe taketh awaie all ſtrangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer ſo ſtrange & maruellous at the firſt, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the leſſe eſteemed: euen as the Indians themſelues do litle value or eſteeme their commodities, which we do ſo much maruell & wonder at. S. Auguſtine therfore vpon the goſpell, how the water was turned into wine hath theſe words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the ſame; & as great it is to ſee how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and ſmall ſeeds great trees and fruits do ſpring and grow; and yet becauſe we do ſee it this daie as it were by a naturall courſe, we do leſſe eſteeme & conſider of them. But yet God aboue the common courſe hath reſerued to himſelfe ſome ſmall things, & which ſeeme to be of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to conſider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie againſt the Lord of nature, who of purpoſe in the ſight of man hath doone manie things againſt the common courſe of nature: becauſe it ſhould be apparant, & euerie man ſhould well ſee, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie ſurpaſſeth mans vnderſtanding. Caſſiodorus therfore ſaith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderſtand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth ſuch great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and paſſe the capacitie & vnderſtanding of man. For God alwaies of purpoſe dooth tranſpoſe and alter his great things into ſtrange forms, that albeit men may in ſome reſpect diſcerne the ſame: yet fullie they can not comprehend the ſame. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & regiſtered in their writings the ſtrange prodigies in their times; whie are we doing the like (vneſſe the whole world be ſet in wickedneſſe) maligned and backbitten? For if there be anie new and ſtrange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & ſpitefull man ſorthwith, without further allowance condemne and deprauē it, but rather ſuffer to remaine as it is. For as the poet ſaith: If our forefathers had reiectēd (as we do) all new things, what ſhuld now be old? Let him therfore ceaſe to blame or carpe at new things, becauſe in courſe of time they ceaſſe to be new, and wax to be old. He may therfore take his pleaſure, and deprauē the ſame, & yet no doubt our poſteritie will allow thereof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to diſprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.



# The second preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

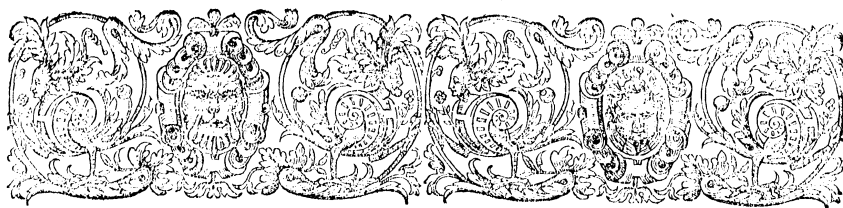
7

**H**Auing beene eftsoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of such noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either seene my selfe, or haue heard it credible reported; I was for my excuse woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reason of the excessive riotousnesse which so aboundeth, all things are so farre out of order, and men so carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuerthelesse, considering, and diligentlie aduising with my selfe, how necessarie the knowledge of those things will be to our posteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest disposition, than to lie wallowing in idlenesse and sloth; I did at length with much ado yeeld my selfe to those requests, and resolu'd my selfe to satisfie the same. But yet what can be more presumptuous than to write when time serueth not, & leifure wanteth? Or to desire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leifure to read our selues? Or that we should be subiect to the examination and lifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leifure to examine our selues? Tullius, the founteine and wellspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is said he did excuse himselfe, because he had not studied nor read the daie before. If so famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did so esteeme the benefit of studieng, what shall others of a farre meaner estate and learning thinke of themselves? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reniued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increased and nourished as it were with a naturall food and sustenance. For as the full barns are soone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treasure soone wasted & consumed, if it be not repaired; euen so the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perusing of other mens works dooth soone perish and decaie. We are compact and doo consist of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing respect to both, are to nourish both, the earthie part with things transitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlasting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprisoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and straie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lusteth, & let him be subiect to the miserable condition of the flesh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclosed in the shell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be so warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being solitarie, it be not destituted. God and the king haue each of them their feuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the secret and incomprehensible part within vs, namelie the soule, God onelie possesseth, and he alone knoweth and searcheth the same. For it is a most noble and excellent thing, passing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehensible, and yet comprehending all things, and most euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous secret celeritie dooth discern the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderstanding of all arts, sciences & knowledges: he is onlie known to him that is vnknown, seene of him that is not seene, & comprehended of him which is incomprehensible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercises of this soule should be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or set aside should perish or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the soule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prison, which though not holding him, yet hindring him? For what the shell is to the kernell, the same is the flesh to the spirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but shortlie which shall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my selfe, and haue now written and drawn out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the subduing of the barbarous nation of the same in these our daies, and haue dedicated the same vnto your highnesse: that by recording the gifts thereof, and seeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, so the same also may increase in you: and as you are known to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, so you may succeed him also in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto trauced in this rude and rough matter after a grosse manner, but hereafter more

fullie, and in better order to be expressed and set foorth, as  
time and yeares shall increase, and as I shall  
be more at full instructed.

form  
com  
mit  
lana  
and  
ginn  
his o  
obte  
fullin  
then

who  
out c  
nexi  
good  
the r  
ther  
be c  
oncl  
end  
from  
not l  
ble k  
impr  
of sil  
gold  
valu  
haue  
both  
may  
and  
liuel  
our r  
treas  
haue  
lie se  
is yet



To his most reuerend lord and beloved  
in Christ, Iohn the noble and worthie  
king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and  
of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this  
his simple worke, and wisbeth all health both of bodie  
and of soule, and a prosperous successe in all things  
*according to his hearts desire.*



**I**T pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and vnkowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefe matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, where-with I was incumbred: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not scene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermot mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driven out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humblye craving, and at length obtaining aid and succor, vntill your first comming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and capteins, which then passed thither; euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

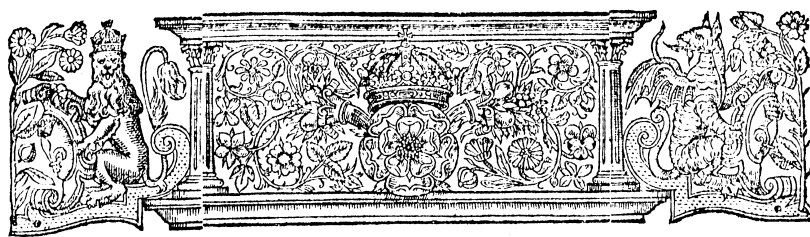
In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discern the truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Davids my cousins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themselves, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessaries. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and doings of the first and second, but also made a small end, and brought the whole countrie into subiection. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thence, and of the vnnaturall warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, o noble king, despiise not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Deo not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankfull: neither for the coueting of an Island of siluer to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one far passing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the siluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuaide you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and liuelhoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnnurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the enriching of your treasure, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose seruice that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are supplanted by such young nouices and yonkers as are of late gone thither

thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better favoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogance, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seignorie and dominion to themselves, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the household enimies be alwaies working, swiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake vp the fire as it were in your lap, the same being ready to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great fault in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venemous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be perswaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroyed; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praye you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leaue to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to invade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paid out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: A heag tooong becometh not a king, especiallie when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent blood by your father and your selfe alreadie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous succeſſe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioie and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the chiefeſt and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namely Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat succeſſe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driven to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie inuaded with great linelehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether wasted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to provide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to asist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreover, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in proceſſe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance cometh to such as are furthest removed in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paid in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing, and to be read by an interpreter, are not sensible, nor so well understood of the hearer, as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language; it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French tooong, should translate the same into French.





# SYLVESTER GIRAL-

## lus Cambrensis, his vaticinall

### historie of the Conquest of Ireland.

The figures of (1) (2) (3) &c. set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waie of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.

How Derman Mac Morogh king of  
Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie  
the second king of England for  
aid and succour.

Chap. I.



**D**erman (1) Mac Morogh prince of  
(2) Leinster & gouernour of the first  
part or portion of Ireland, did in our  
time possesse & inioie the east part of  
the land, which bordereth and lieth to  
wards England: being disseuered  
from the same by  
the maine seas. This man from his vertie youth, and  
first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor  
of his gentlemen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles:  
which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Besides  
this, there befell to him an other mischefe: for  
Morogh the prince of (3) Meeth was gone in a iornie, lea-  
uing his wife the daughter of Molaghlin behind,  
in a certeine Island in Meeth: there to remaine and  
tarie vntill his returne. She (4) fate and this Der-  
mon had bene long inamour'd and in loue the one  
with the other: and she watching a time how to haue  
loue and lust satisfied, taketh the aduantage of hir  
husbands absence, and yeldeth hir selfe to be rau-  
shed, because she would be rauished: for by hir owne  
procurement and intisings, she became and would  
needs be a partie vnto the prier. Such is the variable  
& fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischies  
in the world (for the most part) do happen and come,  
as male appeare by (4) Marcus Antonius, and by  
the destruction of (5) Troie. King Morogh being ad-  
uertised heresof, was forthwith maruellouslie trou-  
bled & in a great choler, but more grieved for shame  
of the fact than for sorrow or hurt: and therefore is ful-  
lie determined to be auenged: and forthwith assem-  
bleth all his people and neighbors, as also procu-  
red into his aid and for his helpe Rothorke king of  
(6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The  
people of Leinster considering in what distresse  
their prince was, and how on euerie side he was be-

set of his enemies, they also call to mind the old sores  
and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: &  
to be auenged & atreched thereof, they make league  
and become friends with their enemies, and utterlie  
leauie and forsake their king. Derman seeing him-  
selfe thus forsaken and left destitute, and that for-  
tune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes in-  
countered with his enemies and euer had the worst)  
determined at length, as to his last refuge to flie o-  
uer the seas, and to seeke for some better chance. By  
this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie  
other like examples it appeareth, that it is better for a  
prince to rule ouer a people, which of a god will and  
loue do obete him, than ouer such as be froward and  
stubborne. This (6) Piero well felt and (7) Domitia-  
nus well knew (8) and Henrie duke of Saronie and  
Bautre well tried. It is more necessarie and expedi-  
ent for a prince to be rather beloued than feared. In  
deed it is good to be feared: so that the feare do pro-  
ceed rather from a god will than of compulsion. For  
what soeuer is outwardlie onelie and to the shew lo-  
ued and receiued, the same of consequence must be  
feared: but what soeuer is feared, that is not forthwith  
loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with  
loue, that neither a remisse god will do war into a  
coldnesse, neither feare grounded vpon a rash inso-  
lencie be turned and become tyrannie. A one did in-  
large the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shorte-  
ned the life of (10) Julius Cesar. Well, Mac Morogh  
following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe  
she will turne hir whele, hauing wind and weather  
at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went  
vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most  
humble and earnestlie prayeth his helpe and succor.  
Who being then in the remote places in France and  
Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires,  
yet most courtesoulie he receiued him and liberallie  
rewarded him. And the king hauing at large and or-  
derlie heard the causes of his erile and of his repaire  
vnto him, he toke his oth of allegiance and swore  
him to be his true bassall and subiect: and there vpon  
granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner  
and forme as followeth. Henrie king of England,  
duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of An-  
iou, vnto all his subiects, Englishmen, Normans,  
Scots, and all other nations and people being his  
subiects sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our let-  
ters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue re-  
ceiued Derman prince of Leinster into our prote-  
ction,

Henrie the 2.  
king of Eng-  
lands stile  
and letter.

tion, grace, and fauour : wherefore whosoever within our iurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our trustie subiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be assured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Derrimon is in Latine *Dermimus*, and *Spozogh* is in Latine *Murchardus*, and are méere Irish names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or christening : *Spac Spozogh* is a word compounded of *Spac* which is a sonne and of *Spozogh* the proper name of a man, and so *Spac Spozogh* is the sonne of *Spozogh*: the Latine name is *Murchardides*, which is to saie *De Murcharde*, or of *Spozogh*: according to the Welsh phrase in which the word is vsed in the same sense. And this is common to the Irish & Welsh, for they call not anie man by the name of his familie or nation as is vsed in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: Derrimon being *Spozogh's* sonne is called Derrimon *Spac Spozogh*. But this name of *Spac Spozogh* is since turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reason that this *Spac Spozogh* was a noble and valiant man aboue all the rest of his nation in his daies: therefore his sequels and posteritie haue euer since and doe yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that *Spozogh* and *Maurence* are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a méere Irish name, and the other a Welsh, and borrowed out of Wales.

(2) Leinster in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the five parts or portions of Ireland (for into so manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the east seas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuer of the Boine by Drogheda in the north, vnto the riuer of the Sorie which flieth by the citie of Waterford in the south. In it are one and thirtie cantreds otherwise named baronies or hundreds. It was sometimes diuided into five, but now into seauen counties, that is, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkennie, Wexford, Wexford, now called the quenes countie, and *Offalie* called the kings countie. There are also in it one archbishop; namely Dublin, and foure bishops; that is, Kildare, Fernes, Leighlin, and *Elorie*.

(3) *Speth* in Latine *Media* is one of the five portions of Ireland according to the first diuision. It is the least portion being but of eightene cantreds, but yet the best and most fertile, and lieth for the most part all within the English pale: and euer since the conquest of king Henrie the second, hath bene subiect and obedient to the English lawes and gouernment: and because it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordingly, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one bishop and the suffragan, and vnder the primate or archbishop of Ardmach. His see is at Erim and his house at Arbraghin. There was no prince sole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: because it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hibernie*, as a surplus towards his diet.

(4) *Spacrus Antonius* was a famous and a noble Romane, excelling in wisdom, knowledge and learning all the Romane princes in his daies; as also a verie noble and a valiant man in the fieldes, hauing attained to great victories and atchiued to sundrie conquests. And yet notwithstanding being married to Cleopatra queene of Egypt, he so doted vpon hir, and was so bewitched in loue of hir: that leauing all his wonted manners, he consumed his whole time in hir companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vicious, disordered, and loose

life, than before commended for his prowell and vertue.

(5) *Troia* called also *Iliou*, was an ancient and a famous citie in Asia the lesse, and situated in the prouince of Dardania, builded by *Tros* the sonne of king *Crichonius*, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, strong, and rich, and in those daies thought impregnable; & yet by means that *Helena* was rauished, the same was in the end utterly subuerted and destroyed: the historie is this. *Pyramus* the king of *Troie* had by his wiue *Hecuba* a sonne named *Paris* or *Alexander*: he dreamed on a time that *Mercurius* should bring vnto him the three ladies, *Venus*, *Iuno*, & *Minerua*, that he should giue his iudgement which was the fairest and most beautifull of them. When *Venus*, to haue the iudgement for hir and in hir behalfe, did promise him that he should haue for the same the fairest woman in all Greece. Not long after, *Paris* being in his fathers court in *Troie*, there were great speeches made of *Helena* and of hir passing beautie. She was wife to *Menelaus* king of *Sparta* in Greece. Where vpon *Paris* calling to memorie his former dreame, and also inflamed with a feruent desire to see so faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ships and of men to saile into Greece. Holbeitt, some write that he was sent by the king his father in an ambassage to king *Menelaus*: but whether it was so or not, certeine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courtesie, and had his intertainment in king *Menelaus* house. *Paris* hauing viewed and beholdeuene *Helena*, he was not so much warmed before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now inflamed with hir passing forme and beautie; and taking the advantage of king *Menelaus* absence, perforce taketh *Helena*, spoileth the kings house, and carrieth all awaie with him. *Menelaus* at his returne home, being dismated at so sudden a change and chance, and grieved with such an iniurie, sendeth his messenger first to *Paris*, and then his ambassadours to king *Pyramus* for restitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor requests be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with such an iniurie, doe all consent to be atenged thereof: and therefore with all their force and power doe prepare to giue warres vnto *Troie*, and make choise of *Agamemnon* the kings brother to be their captaine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the space of ten yeares, but in the end *Troie* was taken, spoiled, and also destroyed.

6 *Spero*, whose name at the first was *Claudius Domitius*, was in his youthfull yeares well disposed to good letters, & giuen to honest exercises. And *Claudius* the emperor hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperor, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of *Claudius*, he being emperor, did gouerne well enough the first five yeares: but then selfe he waxed so vicious, and became so horrible in all dissolute wantonnesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecherie, couetousnesse, and all other most wicked vices: that he was named to be borne to the destruction of the whole world. And in the end he was and became so odious to the whole world, that it was decreed by the senat, and sentence giuen, that he should be beaten and whipt to death. Which thing he perceiving, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himselfe thorough with his owne sword, saing; *Woe wickedlie haue I liued, and most shamefullie shall I die.*

7 *Domitianus*, the brother of *Titus*, and sonne of *Cleopasian* the emperor, was nothing like vnto them, but altogether resembled & was of the nature and

and disposi-  
tion of the emper-  
ors; but i  
so cruell a  
all men,  
some of th  
ked a mei  
chamber.

(8) *Med*  
third of th  
king of t  
ro; next a  
pang, su  
presse his  
and gone  
he himsel  
sentions  
contemne  
selfe to l  
med the  
had man  
depose h  
also and  
bates an  
he was l  
ing thus  
tempore  
rowland

(9) *S*  
nato; in  
Julius C  
lius C  
made h  
cessor; in  
us, the  
was me  
this *De*  
Cesars  
ueruen  
the citie  
increas  
tions, i  
dome, i  
tie, and  
raulthe  
of all n  
And ha  
larged  
selfe th  
him no  
to him  
noys, i  
C<sup>o</sup> pater  
and em  
posing  
nat an  
a p<sup>u</sup>di  
loue ar  
(10)  
lino a  
ancier  
Aenea  
brougl  
liant a  
in the  
notabl  
wealt  
which  
stous;  
and to  
the go  
the na  
him, a  
sonspi

and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruell a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhoyred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murder and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperoz of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperoz next after him. His father died, he being verie young, and left him to the gouernement of the emperesse his mother; who during his minority did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, because he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof he had manie enemies, who sought that they might depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the chiefe cause whiche he was so ouerfet and hated of his nobles. And being thus ouermatched and in the hatred both of the temporal and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie sorrow languished and pined awaie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octavianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Cesar, and was first named Octavianus Julius Cesar. His uncle hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Julius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was maruelouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octavianus hauing attained to sit in Julius Cessars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse, but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtesie, affabilitie, & liberallitie, and such others; that all people were not onelie rauished in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visit, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honors, and was called *summus pontifex perpetuus dictator pater patrie*, and yelded vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone, which rested before in the senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Julius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Iulius a noble Romane, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Iulies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought forth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserved well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drowned all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators enuied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murdering of him,

and by the senators executed. For he on a certaine daie, vpon occasion being come into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murdered.

The returne of Dermon Mac Morogh  
from king Henrie through England, and of  
his abode at Britlow and other  
places in Wales.

## Chap. 2.

Dermon Mac Morogh, hauing receiued great comfort and courtesie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had bene verie honourable and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberallitie receiued. And by his daillie sojourn he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Britlow, where because ships and botes did daillie repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilest he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be openlie red, and did then offer great intertainment, and promised liberall wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Cheshire (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betwene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermon should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermon Mac Morogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Dauids head or Rome (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this same time Alice Fitzgriffith was chiefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and Dauid the second, then bishop of S. Dauids, had great pitie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermon thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime drawing and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breath and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and descrie. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Alice had the gouernement, & was constable of Aberteffe the chiefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Alice, and by him was kept in prison thre yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and ioine with Griffith against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a Norman) he was the kings naturall subiect, although by his mother the ladie Bessia, daughter to the great Alice Fitzgriffith, he were cosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduenture his life, and to seeke fortune abroad and in foren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the slander, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earliest mediation and intercession of Dauid then bishop of S. Dauids, and of Maurice Fitz-

4  
Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mother's side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agreed and concluded betwene them and Mac Murogh, that he the said Mac Murogh should give and grant unto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adjoining, & to their heires in fee for ever: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recover his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so served. Wexmon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw home-wards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long travelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Davids to make his orisons and prayers, and then the weather being faire, and wind good, he adventured the seas about the middle of August; and having a merrie passage, he shortly landed in his ingratefull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enemies; and coming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honozable received of the cleargie there: who after their abillitie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a privat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Bissow in the old time was named Odera, afterwards Wenta, and now *Bristolium*, and standeth upon the river Hamnum which is navigable, & divideth into Severne or the Severne seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named Kingrode, five miles distant from Bissow, in which the ships do ride. The other is named Hongrode, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Bissow. It standeth upon the borders or confines of the province of Gloucestershire and Summerfetshire: some would have it to be in the marches and under the principallitie, but in the old times it was parcell of the bailie of Bath, which was the metropole of Summerfetshire. It is verie old, ancient and honozable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a severall province or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; having a mayo and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whome the same is directed and governed. It is the cheefest emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, adventures, and traffikes with all nations: great dealings they have with the Camber people and the Irish nation, the one of them fast bordering upon them, and the other by reason of the neerenesse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the river, daillie resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstow is a market towne in Wales, in that province named in old time Wenta, being now under the principallitie of Wales. In times past it was named Strigulia, whereof Richard Strangelow being earle he took his name, being called *Comes Strigulensis*.

(3) S. Davids head or stone is the promontorie in west Wales, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards Ireland: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faire daie the countrie of Wexford: for that is the nearest part of Ireland unto that part of Wales. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedral church of saint Davids, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called *Openenta*, and was in times past an archbishoppke. But as it is written

in the annales of the said church, that in the time of Richard Carew and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeld, and submit themselves unto the metropolitane see of Canturburie.

(4) Aberteife is an old ancient towne standing upon the mouth of the river of Teife, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of Teife, but now it is called Cardigan. The countrie about it was in times past named Caretica, but now Cardiganshire, so Aberteife is Cardigan towne, and Caretica Cardiganshire.

(5) Wexford in Latine named *Guesfordia*, is next after Dublin the chieffest towne in Leinster, it lieth full upon the seas, but the haven is a barred haven and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of Ireland into England, if you do touch and take land either at saint Davids or at Wexford.

(6) A cantred (as Giraldus saith) is a towne compounded of the British and of the Irish tongues, and containeth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in England is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, do saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Wher saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annote another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land Irish, and euerie Irish acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where Wexmon landed is named Glascaerge, it is a craeke or a baie lieng upon the open seas, and in the countie of Wexford, thence there was builded a monastrie which was and is dissolved.

(8) Fernes is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of Wexford, it lieth nere in the middle of the province of Leinster, and was sometimes a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaye, the bishop & chapter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onelie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

### The going ouer and landing of Robert Fitzstephans and of his companie in Ireland, and of the winning of the towne of Wexford,

Cap. 3.

**I**n the meane time Robert Fitzstephans, not unmindefull nor careless of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinsfolks & certeine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piket men in Wales, they all ship and imbarke themselves in three sundrie barkes, and sailing towards Ireland, they land about the calends of Maie at the (1) Banne. Then was the old prophesie of Merlin fulfilled, which was, that a knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of Ireland. If you will vnderstand the mysterie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie Nesta was a Camber or a Britaine, in his companie also was Perueie of Pont Maurice, a man infortunat, vn-

armed, as in the beh

armed, as in the beh  
uncle, to  
next daie  
lustie and  
west Wales  
a god in  
two ships  
thus lair  
assured o  
was blou  
with all  
sing him  
that cou  
who whe  
waie fro  
red him  
cording

As for  
Mac M  
and com  
gentlem  
verie sh  
great so  
newed t  
sworne  
and to be  
contrari  
and all o  
and with  
of Wex  
from the  
of, they  
much tr  
about t  
to wage  
aduerfa  
times p  
with ar  
new cha  
set on fi  
the tow

Fitzf  
assault,  
his ar  
the wal  
and for  
being r  
great p  
hurting  
Among  
bert W  
nothing  
to hon  
wals:  
the hea  
the dit  
do did  
About  
the for  
which i  
places  
deto t  
selues  
set on  
there f  
latelie  
corne,  
nie of  
the pu  
ners f  
sed by  
blowi  
pouth;

armed, and without all furniture: but he travelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was uncle, was rather a (3) spie than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Desmond a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and bozne about Spilford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of service, and a good number of archers imbarke themselves in two ships, and arrive also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their coming was blown abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Derman, aduertising him of their coming. Whereupon diuerse of that countrie, who dwelling upon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did thinke a waite from Derman, now perceluting that the fauored him againe, returned and salued upon him: according to the saying of the poet in these words:

As fortune is the faith of man doth stand or fall.  
 Mac Donogh, as soon as he heard of their landing and coming, sent his base son Donold, a valiant gentleman unto them with five hundred men: and verie hostile after he himselfe also followed with great ioie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former covenants and leagues, and had sworn each one to the other, to obserue the same and to keepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good friends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces together, and with one consent do march towards the towne of Wexford, which is about twelue miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and unrulie people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and giue battell. But when they saw their aduersaries armed to be better set in order than in times past, and that the horsemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then upon new chancas & changes taking new counsels, they set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitzstephans minding and preparing to giue the assault, fillth the ditches with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great howtes and force giueth the assault. The townesmen within being ready to stand at defense, cast ouer the wals great peeces of timber & stones, and by that meanes hurting manie, made the rest to giue ouer and retire. Among whom a lustie yong gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might atchieue unto honour, giueth the first aduerture to scale the wals: but he was striken with a great stone vpon the head pece, wherewith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much ado did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About sixtene yeares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new teeth grew vp in their places. Upon this repulse they all retired and withdrew themselves from the wals, & assembled themselves vpon the sea strands, where forthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whome was one merchant ship latelie come out of England laden with wines and corne, which there laie then at anchor, and a compaignie of these lustie yongths hauing gotten boates for the purpose, would haue taken hit: which the mariners perceiuing, suddenlie cut their cables and holserd by their sailles, & the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, they recovered the seas. These yongths still following them, had almost lost all and

marred the market: for if others their fellows had not made good shift and rowed a good pace after them they would scardelie haue recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconstancie, seemed to haue forsaken Mac Donogh and Fitzstephans, and to haue left them destitute of all hope and comfort: neuertheless, on the next morow hauing heard diuine service through the whole campe, they determine with better aduise and circumspection to giue a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The townesmen within seeing this, began to distrust themselves, & to consider how most vnnaturalie and vnjustlie they had rebelled against their prince & soueraine: wherupon being better aduised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession, and mediation of two bishops, and certeine good and peaceable gentlemen which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the best & chiefeest men within the towne were deliuered and given for pledges and hostages, for the true keeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Mac Donogh, to gratifie his men in these his first successes, and to acquit the first aduenturers, did according to his former promise and couenant, giue unto Robert Fitzstephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Wexford, and the territories thereunto adioining and appertaining, and unto Bernie of Spont Maurice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the sea side betwixne Wexford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little crake lieng in the countie of Wexford, nere to Ffithra a fisher towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocesse, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the hauent mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should seeme, Fitzstephans and his companie mistooke the place or were driuen in there, the same being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onelie verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitzstephans, the one being a Norman Baron, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, namelie partie per pale gules, and ermine a saltier counterchanged. For commonlie all prophesies haue their allusions vnto armes, and by them they are discovered, though at the first not so appearing before the enent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speeches is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skilfull to serue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horsebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew in to credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chualtrie: some desiring to excell in the service on foot: and because they blessed chiefly the target and shield, they took their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chiefly the service on horsebacke, and they (according to the manner of their service) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in processe of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquires: and this is taken for a degree somewhat aboue the estate of a one, lie



lie gentleman. And for so much as service in the fields did carie awaie with it the greatest honor and credit, and princes willing & desirous to encourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of service, they deuised a third degree of honour named kinighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honored, was to be adorned with such ornaments as doo speciallie apperteyne to the furniture of such service, as namely a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of service was turned to the name of worship: yea this degree did grow and war to be of such credit, honor and estimation, that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & worship of a knight, and seeing also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therefore they should be compted & taken for knights of worship and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skilfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the word *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and doe Englishly the word *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of service.

(4) A spie, not to watch the doings of his countrey, thereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrey and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should prouide and order his doings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Denbals was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the prouince of Denbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, doo thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Merford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie,  
and of the submission of the  
king thereof.

Chap. 4.

These things thus done and ended as they would themselves, they increase their armie with the townsmen of Merford, and being then about three thousand men, they march towards (1) Ossorie, whereof Donald was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortal enemy which Mac Morogh had. For on a time he hauing the said Dermonts eldest son in his ward and handfast, was in gealouse of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closter prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed injuries, putteth out both of his (2) eyes. First then Dermont and his companie enter into Ossorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midd of the countrey, because the whole countrey else was full of woods, streits, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and encountered with the Ossorians, they found no cowardly nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrey, and manfullie resisted their enemies. For they trusted so much to

their wanted god fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they thought not a whit from them, but gaue them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaigne countrey.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his horsemen, and seeing that the Ossorians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as strayed and were scattered abroad, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrowne, the footmen with their Calloglasses axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermont Mac Morogh three hundred of their enemies heads, which they laid & put at his feet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for so hold vp both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highly. Among these there was the head of one, whom speciallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit awaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a robe through the whole countrey, & marched almost to the uttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrey. And thereupon the prince of Ossorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie deed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealties, and were sworn to be faithfull and true to Mac Morogh, as unto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Appellerus had the pike and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these young gentlemen were nephues to Fitzstephans (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Appellerus being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoeuer he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certeine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a greedy seeker of land and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indued with such a maidenlie shamefastnesse, and no bagger nor boaster, would neither glorie his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so do of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, shunning them who do most seeke for hir, & following them who do lest regard hir. And many men are the more liked of manie, because they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the more sooner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in Ossorie, they did on a night incampe themselves about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, laie together, and suddenly there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to break in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroing all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bills together, and therewithall such a noise and a shew, as though hea-

uen:  
A  
time  
nie h  
mie l  
they  
bogs  
succ  
hind  
bold  
fogit  
ged t  
fense  
ding  
of hi  
with  
grea  
selfe  
this  
force  
couli  
and t  
happi  
with  
alwa  
to pr  
indog  
Indis  
first  
the fi  
of it  
were  
the r  
heigl  
the g  
grea  
teine

(1)  
per &  
Mac  
this l  
on th  
of th  
bein  
is a l  
med  
skilke  
and i  
rogb  
(2)  
com  
Fist  
nie p  
is he  
and  
their  
doth  
rogi  
satis  
teeth  
(3)  
soldi  
a ge  
as ti  
degi  
a fre  
tein  
a lig  
flen  
two  
degi  
to th  
his i

men and earth would haue come together.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions doe oftentimes happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be a nic hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismayed, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euerie one seeking a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tarteng behind, raught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzstephens tents, and called againe together all such as were thus scattered, and encouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defence. Robert of Barrie in all his hildie burlie, standing alone by himselfe musing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did about all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great griefe of such as enuied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was specialtie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misadventure whatsoeuer, could at anie time make him afraid or discomfited, and to lie awake. For howsoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And such a one as is alwaies readie to abide whatsoeuer shall happen, and to preuent what mischances may ensue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and valiantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was stricken or hurt. As concerning the forsaide phantasme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there vpright and of a great height, did now in the morrow lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certaine that none had bene there at all.

(1) There be two Dioceses, the one named the bishopricke of Ossorie, which is of the ancient inheritance of the Macgallstathikes, and who are the barons thereof; and this lieth in the diocesse of Leighling: the other lieth on the north of Dymond, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of Dymond, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of Dymond and Ossorie. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of Ossorie, whose see and house is at Kilkennie. It is parcell of the prouince of Leinster and vnder the obediencie then of Dermont Mac Spogh.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for commonlie such is the reuenging nature of the maere Irishman, that albeit he can or doo late neuer so manie plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vnlesse he haue also his life, yea and manie not therewith contented, but will utter their wicked nature euen vpon the dead carcase, as dooth appeare in this chapter of the same Mac Spogh, who finding one of his enimies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell manner he did with his teeth bite awaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland three sorts or degrees of soldiers: the first is the horseman, who commonlie is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with such armour as the seruice of that countrie requireth: the second degree is the kernough, & he also is a gentleman or a freeholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a horse with his furniture, and therefore he is a light souldier on foot; his armour is both light and slender, being a skull, a left gantlet or a target, a sword and skeine, and three or foure darts: the third degree is the Galloglasie, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to saie, an English peo-

man or seruant; his armour is a skull, a sacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, other wise named a Galloglasie or halbert, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and kernes, and who do spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

10 The conspiracie of Rothorike monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes against Mac Spogh and Fitzstephens.

Chap. 5.

10 In the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpright downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of falling: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For as soon as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of Dermont, and of the comming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: Rothorike prince of (1) Conagh, and (2) monarch of the whole land, considering how of small things great do grow; and considering that by the comming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they do with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto Mac Spogh. And forthwith euerie man hauing made readie both men and armour to his uttermost powrer, doo ioine all their forces and strengths together, and with maine and strength doo invade the countrie of Denkile in Leinster.

Dermont Mac Spogh in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partly because some of his (but glossing) friends distrusting the sequels, did shrinke from him, & hid themselves: some of them most traitorously, contrarie to their oath and promise, were fled to his enimies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few friends, sauing onlie Robert Fitzstephens and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such compaigns as he had, went vnto a certaine place not farre from Fernes, which was compassed and inuironed round about with great thicke woods, high stikle hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe, as it was in a maner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soon as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of Fitzstephens (3) did fell downe trees, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so strait, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

60 (1) Conagh, in Latine Conacia, is one of the five portions of the land, according to the ancient diuision. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were vnder the government of the sept of the Connors, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certaine noble men of England, & by certaine descents it came to sir Walter de Burgo, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of Wolsler. From these Burghs descend the Burghs now being in Conagh, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to keepe that countrie to the vse of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England. This countrie lieth betwene Wolsler in the north, Spounser in the

the south, and the seas in the west. The chiefeest and onelic merchant towne of emporium thereof is Calloway.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernor among the Irish, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Spac Carthies in Mounster, or of the Moroghs in Leinster, or of the D Connors in Connagh, as this Rothorike was. He was elected & chosen by the common consent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once chosen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The pryncesse of Metch, which was the least of the fine seuerall portions, was reserved alwaies vnto him for his diet. For though the Dinolaghins did dwell in Metch, and were great inheritors or possessioners there, yet they were not counted for princes as the others were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land iurisdictionally, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it should be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies done.

(3) The manner of the Irish is to keepe themselves from force of the enemies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is so strong as no horseman is to aduenture into the same; the other with industrie they make strong, by felling of trees & plashing of the woods; and by these means the horsemen (in whom is all the strength of their warres) can haue no passage nor entrie to the enemy, but must either retire, or go on foot, or seeke some other waie. If they will and must needs passe that waie, they must of necessitie go on foot, and then they are to weake, and easilie to be overcome by the hernes, whose seruice is onelic on foot: therefore they do chiefeleie keepe themselves in such places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not others of them.

The description of Dermon Mac Morogh, and of the message of Rothorike O Connor sent vnto him for peace.

Cap. 6.

**D**ermon Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation: and by reason of his continuall harloting and crying his voice was hoarse: he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and gracious, and hatefull vnto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him. Rothorike minding to attempt anie waie whatsoeuer, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell, sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto Fitzstephans, to perswade and intreat him: that for so much as he made no challenge nor title to the land, that he would quietlie, and in peace returne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. Then they went vnto Spac Morogh himselfe, & perswaded him to take part with Rothorike, and to ioine both their forces and armies in one, and then with might and maine to giue the onset vpon the strangers, and so utterlie to destroye them. And in this doing he should haue Rothorike to his good friend, and all Leinster in rest and quietnesse: manie reasons also they alledged concerning their countrie and nation; but all was to no purpose.

The speeches and oration which Rothorike O Connor made vnto his soldiers.

Chap. 7.

**R**othorike O Connor, seeing that by these his deuises and practises he could do no good at all, and thinking that forsomuch as he could not auaile with words, he with force and armes, as his last year die and helpe, prepared his armes, and maketh for the battell; and assembling his people together, maketh vnto them these speeches. The right noble and valiant defenders of your countrie and libertie, let vs consider with what people, and for what causes we are now to fight and wage the battell. That enemy of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an open enemy vnto all men, and who sometimes was an exiled man; he how he being iurioned with the force of strangers, is now returned, & mindeth the utter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuieing the safetie of his countrie and countymen, hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might satisfie and more effectuallye accomplish his malice, which other wise by no means he could haue brought to passe. He then being an enemy, hath brought in that enemy which hath bene euer hatefull both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are most greedy to haue the soueraintie & dominion ouer vs all, protesting and openly affirming, that by a certaine fatall destinye they are to be rulers ouer this land: yea, & so far hath he shed out his venom, and almost euery man is so inuenedomed therewith, that now no fauour nor mercie is to be shewed. A cruell beast, yea more cruell than euer was beast! for to satisfie his insatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloodshedding of his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his countrie, nor sex. This is he who is a most cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of strangers beth all force and crueltye against all men. He deserueth well therefore to be hated of all, which seeketh to be an enemy vnto all. Loke therefore (ye worthy citizens) well to your selues; I saie loke and consider well how by these means, I meane by ciuill discord, all realmes & nations haue for the most part bene ouerthrowen & vanquished. (1) Julius Cesar minding to invade Britaine had the repulse twise, & was driven out by the Britons. But when Androgeus fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, sent against for Julius, who ther vpon returned and conquered the land. (2) The same Julius also conquered all the west parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, & debate was rise, & by that meane all Italie was filled with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons being at discord with their king, procured Curmundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Isles, that he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars vpon their king, who so did; but in the end to their owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long after (4) Thebertus the French king, being an enemy to his owne people, and at discord with them, he procured the said Curmund to aid and helpe him to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had but bad successe. Wherefore let vs with one mind like to these Frenchmen stand stoutlie to the defense of our countrie, and couragiously giue the onset vpon our enemies. And whyles these strangers be but few in number, let vs lustilie issue out vpon them: for fire whyles it is but in sparkles is soon covered, but when

when it quenche at the be growin taken be soe, who to leaue ballantl giue the terro; b foren n attempt

(1) retired: not min sbeian his nobi and a so such ga most ac chanced to the b don (the nequie sent for because vpon bi was, and wi messen besoug armie, king u of the end hal and di to be ti tarfe.

(2) succed himsel and en that a Rome ambit to the please and n death boule. Name

(3) ouer: bitior full bi ding l at bir king Briti tered they the le droun the & Brit land Cozi sage ged: the f thed (4) but:

when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to prevent sickness at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance having taken deepe root, are hardie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immozfall fame: let vs valiantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terror vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an bitter despaire & not minding to returne any more. Whereupon Calphurnius then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for iote he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two young gentlemen, the one being nephew to the king, and the other cousin to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephew was slaine. The king much grieued therewith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgeus: and because he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the reime, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperour ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans any one should be ioined with him: and ambitionlie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequels thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murdered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vicious a man in all respects, that he became hateful both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor b:oking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Whereupon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Sarons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Sarons drove the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Sarons hauing thus their wills done also all the Britons out, who from thenceforth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Cornewall, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Hembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufrid saith) was nephew to the king & and

the land being then in great troubles, this Hembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compass the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Whereupon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Hembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And hereupon Hembert toke an occasion to encourage his people to stand to their tackle, and valiantlie to withstand Mac Morigh, who as Hembert had procured in Gurmundus: so had he stocked in Englishmen to overrun his countrie.

### The oration and speeches of Mac Morigh to his souldiors and people.

#### Cap. 8.

Mac Morigh beheld his men, & perceiuing them to be somewhat dismayed and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath ioined vs in one fellowship: wherefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defence. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Hembert, the author of all wickednesse & mischief, who desirous to haue the sole souerainetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbid) either to drive vs cleane out of our countrie, or bitterlie to destroye vs: and marke you now how he lifteth vp his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and vnarmed. If he make challenge and pretend title to Leinster, because the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and challenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to vsurpe and destroye as a tyrant, to drive vs out of our countrie, to succed into euery mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the royl, and to be master ouer all.

Manie there are which do brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and valiantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. Men do not alwaies attaine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations do grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forasmuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our seat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streitnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therein, the more comberous and troubleosome it will be: and

and yet to win the victorie, a small companie being valiant, courageous, and of a good agreement shall serve and be sufficient.

(1) There be (as is said) five portions of Ireland, and euerie of them (except such which was reserved to the monarch for the time being for his diet) had their particular princes, & none of these did hold anie one of the other: but of some one of them chosse was made by the whole estates of the land to be the monarch; and he for the time being did take and receive homage and fealtie of all the others, not in respect that he was a particular prince, but because he was the monarch. And this Mac Morogh allegeth for him selfe, denieng that he held anie of his lands of the king of Connagh otherwile than in respect that he was the monarch.

The oration of Robert Fitzstephans  
made unto his companions and souldiors.

Chap. 9.

**W**hen Dermot Mac Morogh had ended his speech, Robert Fitzstephans calleth his companie together, & thus he speaketh vnto them. Ye lustie young men and my companions in warres, which haue abiden with me in manie perils; & yet still of noble minds & valiant courages: if we would now consider with our selues, what we are, vnder that captaine, and wherefore we do aduenture and attempt these great enterprises, no doubt we shall excell in our wonted valiantnesse, and good fortune shall be on our side. We first came and descended from the (1) Troians, and since are of the French blood and race: of the one we haue these our noble and valiant minds, and of the other the vse and experience in feats of armes: wherefore being thus descended of noble progenie by two manner of waies and in two respects; as we be now well armed and appointed, so let vs also be of valiant minds and lustie courages: and then no doubt this rascall and naked people shall neuer be able to resist no: withstand vs.

Besides you see and knowe how that at home, partly by the subtil and craftie dealings of our owne counsels and kinlines, and partly by the secret malice and deuises of our familiars and acquaintances, we are bereft & spoiled both of our countrie and patrimonie. And now we are come hither, not as greedy crauers for large stipends, no: yet as covetous prollers for gaine and lucre: but onlie in respect and consideration to haue and inioie the lands & townes to vs, and to our heires after vs, offered and promised. We are not come hither like pirats or thieues to rob and spoile, but as faithfull friends, to recouer and to restore this noble and liberall gentleman to that his patrimonie, whereof he is spoiled and dispossessed. He it is that hath allured and flocked vs hither; he it is that loueth our nation: and he it is who purposeth to plant and settle vs and our heires in this Ile. And peraduenture by these meanes the whole land, which is now diuided into five prouinces or portions, may be deduced and brought into one, and the same in time be whole vnto vs and our heires: if that by our valiantnesse and proffesse the victorie be gotten, and Mac Morogh by our service, meanes, and industrie be restored, and then the whole dominion to vs and to our heires for euer to be reserved.

How great were then our honoz & glorie! yea so great, that with the perils of our bodies, losse of our liues, and the dangers of death, it is to be wished for, sought, & aduentured. For why should we be afraid: and what is death I praye you? Is it anie other than

a short delai or distance of time, & as it were a short sleepe betwene this transitorie life and the life eternall to come? What is death (I saie) but a short passage from vaine and transitorie things to perpetuall and euerslasting toies? And certeine it is we must all once die: for it is that inuenitable destinie, which is common to all men, and can be eschewed of no man: for be we sole, and do nothing worthy of perpetuall fame and memorie; or be we well occupied, whereof insatiety praise and honoz: yet die shall we. When the matter being so, let them be affraid of death, who when they die, all things die with them: but let not them thinke no: be dismayed, whose vertue and fame shall neuer die but liue for euer. Wherefore ye worthy men, who are enobled for your valiantnesse and famous for your vertues, let vs with bold minds and good courages giue the onset vpon our enemies, that in vs our noble race & progenie be not stained, but that either by a glorious victorie, or a famous death, we do atchiue to perpetuall fame and honoz.

How Rotherike intreateth for peace  
and obtaineth the same.

Chap. 10.

**R**otherike, when he had well considered with himselfe how the euent of wars are doubtful and uncerteine, & that as the wiseman saith; A man of wisdom and vnderstanding is to trie all manner of waies rather than the warres: and also being somewhat timorous to aduenture the battell with strangers, sendeth his messengers by all the waies they best might, to intreat for peace: who at length through their industrie, and by the mediation of good men, and by Gods goodnesse who prospered the same, obtained the same, and which was concluded in this order. That Dermot Mac Morogh should haue and enjoy all Leinster in peace and quietnesse, to him and to his heires, acknowledging Rotherike to be the chiefe king and monarch of all Ireland, and yelding vnto him that seruice and dutie as vnto him therein appertained. And for the performance hereof, he deliuered his sonne Cantharus in pledge and for an hostage. To whom Rotherike then promised, vpon condition, that the peace and certeine other points obserued, he would giue his daughter vnto him in marriage. These things being openly published, each partie sware the one to the other, for the performance and keeping of the same. And yet whatsoeuer the bitter shew, it was secretly agreed betwene them, that Dermot Mac Morogh, when and as soon as he had quietly settled Leinster in good order, he should returne and send home all the English people, as also in the meane time should not procure anie more to come ouer.

Of the comming of Maurice Fitzgeral into Ireland: of the yelding vp of Dublin to Dermot Mac Morogh; and of the warres betwene the two princes of Connagh and of Limereke.

Chap. 11.

**T**hese things thus done & performed, and fortune seeming with a more favorable countenance to smile vpon them, behold Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom we spake before, who was the halfe brother by the mothers side to Robert Fitzstephans, arrived at Wexford in two ships, hauing in his companie (which he brought) ten gentlemen of seruice, thirtie bowmen, and of archers and footmen about one hundred. A man he

he was both valiant and man of his word: all aduantage in this new enraged there and to call for songs which past done by reminding to and marching, but lest doing a hold let the (1) which place: yet by indulger. Morogh: pane of the ded Mac Morogh vnto in the horse blind, they same, and the citizens of began to quicke and in same, did true and fir time there Rotherike relik. Ant force enter mon Mac Morogh with Donald: whose meane fame was to returne which he deces, Robert praise and a woman to his backe, then in my

(1) It from the miles, and ned on two. Wexford table: the oth which is a equal with of rods and daies; but strongest for a place yet it was pulled still remain

Dermot earle Rich.

**W**hich he might re purchase all



he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and therefor shall adorne with a certaine kind of womanlike shamesfastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and encouraged therewith, becommeth to thinke vpon old foes, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certaine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Merford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companye of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. As soon as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adjoining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to quake, and their hearts fainted, and did secke and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betwene Kothozike of Connagh and Donald prince of Limericke. And as soon as Kothozike was with all his force entred into the countrie of Limericke, Dermot Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermots sonne in law, by whose means he gat the victorie, and Kothozike with shame was driuen to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his owne home: and left the chefferie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruises, Robert Barrie and Spellerius carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was seene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon his backe, as a horse; of whom I haue already spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Merford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is intorned on two sides with the riuer which floweth to Merford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equall with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and turfes, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so doth still remaine.

Dermot Mac Morogh sendeth for the earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great preparation for his coming.

## Chap. 12.

**M**ac Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, becommeth himselfe now of greater matters, and denieth how and by what means he might recover his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein

he used a secret conference with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whom he uttereth and discoureth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue him answer that his deuisse was verie easie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of their kinsmen and countrymen, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deuisse. And that he might the better perswade them herevnto, he offered to either one of them his daughter and heire in marriage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both being already married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all speed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake before, and vnto whom he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Bissow, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.

20 Dermot Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle sendeth greeting. If you do well consider and marke the time as we do which are in distresse, then we do not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue already seene the (1) strokes and swallowes, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your coming, and albeit the winds haue bene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it may thereby appeare not want of gods will, nor forgetfulnesse of promise, but the iniurie of time hath bene hitherto the cause of your long tarrying. All Leinster is already whole yeldded vnto vs: and if you will speedlie come away with some strong companye and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recovered and adioined to this the first portion. Your coming therefore the more speedie it is, the more gratefull, the more hastie, the more sofull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed by your sone coming, for friendship & good will is recovered and nourished by mutuall offices, and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse. When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his friends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtful, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruise and hostings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endued with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yet he could spend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compasse the same to good effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humbly praieth and beseecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did appertene vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and secke fortune in some other foreign countrie and nation.

(1) The stroke and the swallow are named *Aues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe auaite at the autumn or fall of the leafe, for in the winter they are not seene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare for the earles coming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the yeare past he would haue come.

Mac Morogh's letter to earle Richard.

Of the arriuall of Reimond le grosse in-  
to Ireland, and of the fight which he had  
against the Waterford men at  
Dundorogh.

Chap. 13.

**T**he king hauing heard the earles requests,  
bethought himselfe a while thereof: but in  
the end he allowed not of the one, nor gran-  
ted the other, but fed him still with good spee-  
ches, and nourished him with faire words, commen-  
ding his noble mind, that he would adventure so ho-  
norable an enterprise. And in words the king se-  
emed to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to  
saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest,  
for the king minded nothing lesse. But the earle ta-  
king the advantage of the kings words, and accep-  
ting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, retur-  
ned home. And the same being the winter season &  
verie bitt to trauell into forren nations in martiall  
affaires, both now make preparation of all things  
fit to serue when time should require. And as soone as  
the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him in-  
to Ireland, a gentleman of his owne household and  
familie named Reimond le grosse: who had with  
him ten gentlemen of seruice, and thre score and ten  
archers well appointed, and taking shipping about  
the halends of Aprill, then landed at the rocke of (1)  
Dundonolfe, which lieth south from Waterford, and  
about foure miles east from Waterford: and there  
they cast a trench, and buildd a little castell of hold,  
with turres and wattell. This Reimond was ne-  
phew to Robert Fitzstephans and to Auarice Fitz-  
gerald, being the sonne vnto their elder brother  
named William, and was verie ballant, of great  
courage, and well expert in the warres and in all  
martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and  
Dmolaghlin Oselin, being aduertised of this their  
arriuall, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such  
strangers, take counsell together what were best to  
be done: and finding it most necessarie and needfull  
to withstand at the beginning, they do conclude and  
determine to giue the onset vpon them; and being  
about thre thousand men, they take botes, and rowe  
downe the riuer of the Suer (which flereteth fast by the  
walles of Waterford on the east, and diuideth Lein-  
ster from Mounster) and so came to the place where  
Reimond and his companie were, where they land-  
ed and set their men in order for the assaults, and  
marched boldlie to the ditches of Reimonds fortesse  
or castell: but then it appeared how ballantnes can  
neuer be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet pro-  
uesse or worthines be blemished. For Reimond and  
his companie, although they were but few in num-  
ber, and too weake to encounter with so great a com-  
panie as their aduerfaries were: yet being of cou-  
ragious minds & lustie stomachs, went out to meet  
with their enemies; but when they saw that their  
small number was not sufficient nor able in the  
plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a  
multitude, they retired to their fort. The enemies  
thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow  
them, followed and pursued them so thortlie, that the  
Englishmen were no sooner in at the gates, but  
the Irishmen were also at their heeles, and some of  
them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond  
saw, and considering also with himselfe what a dis-  
tresse and perill he and all his were in, suddenly  
turneth backe his face vpon his enemies; and the  
first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough  
with his sword (or as some saie claue his head at the  
der) and then with a loud voice cried out to his com-

panie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they  
turned and stood most manfullie to their defense;  
so their enemies also being dismayed and afraid at  
the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne  
a waie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance  
of fight, were thought should be vanquished and  
cleane ouerthrowne, suddenly became to be the  
victors and conquerors. And these sharpelie then  
pursued their enemies, who were scattered abroad  
in the plaines and out of arraie; that in a verie short  
time and space they slue about foure hundred per-  
sons: and being wearie with killing, they cast a  
great number of those whome they had taken pris-  
oners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so  
drowned them. In this fight and seruice a gentle-  
man named William Ferand did most ballantlie  
acquit himselfe. For albeit he were but of a weake  
bodie, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage;  
he was diseased and sickie of the leprosie, and there-  
fore desirous rather to die ballantlie, than to liue  
in miserie: and for that cause would and did ad-  
venture himselfe in places where most perill  
and danger was and seemed to be; thinking it good with  
a glorious death to prevent the greife and losse  
nesse of a greivous discaie.

Thus fell the citie of Waterford, thus decayed  
their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and  
ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope  
and consolation to the Englishmen; so was it the  
cause of a great desperation and terror to the eni-  
mies. It was a strange matter and neuer heard of  
before in those parties, that so great a slaughter  
should be made by so small a number: neuertheless  
by euill counsell and too much crueltie, the En-  
glishmen abused their good successe and fortune. For  
hauing gotten the victorie, they saued fewentie of  
the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners; and for  
the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue  
had either the citie of Waterford yielded & surren-  
dered vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they  
would themselves. But Herueie of Mount Morris  
(who came ouer with thre gentlemen of seruice, and  
joined with his countermen and Reimonds) being  
both of contrarie minds, strived the one with the  
other, what were best to be done hereint.

(1) Dundonolfe is a rocke standing in the coun-  
tie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from  
the citie of Waterford about eight English miles,  
and is from the towne of Waterford about twelue  
miles, lieng southwards from the same: it is now  
a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house  
of the Powers of Kilmattien, & called by the name  
of Dundorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Gnaterford, na-  
med sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is  
a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon  
the south side of the riuer of Suer, which flereteth fast  
by the walles thereof, and was first buildd by one  
named Sitaratius, one of the thre princes which  
came out of the east parts to inhabit that land. It  
was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a  
long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by  
the citizens & inhabitants of the same. It is the chee-  
fest emporium in a manner of all that land, and  
standeth chiefe upon the trade of merchandize, they  
themselves being not onelie great travellers into  
forren nations, but also great resort and dailie con-  
courses of strangers are to it. Concerning the go-  
uernement, order, state and seruice of this citie, and  
of sundrie other things incident to the same, see at  
large described in the later historie of this land.

The

2

these  
com  
and  
and  
what  
capt  
pet  
all  
are  
be  
ing  
a  
w  
ter  
ther  
ous  
not  
mer  
t  
fre  
in  
d  
tim  
the  
one  
piti  
so  
also  
ow  
cre  
ra  
it  
glo  
can  
I  
for  
the  
nie  
nie  
not  
me  
his  
pit  
me  
sa  
me  
for  
qu  
ho  
be  
de  
rig  
me  
for  
ne  
re  
m  
hy  
th  
th  
it  
an  
it  
it  
re

The oration of Reimond for the  
deliuerie of the prisoners taken.

Chap. 14.

**R**eimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboureth by all the waies he could how to compass the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these speeches, and bleseth these persuasions to all his companie. He my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune seme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I do not thinke it good, nor yet allow that any fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enimie. But vnderstand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be banquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their aduentures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for theues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murderers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than crueltie to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministered. Surelie our ancestors in times past (although in dad it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of god successe and prosperitie, to temperat their lose minds and brutish affections with some one incommodie of other. Therefore let mercie and pitie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue overcome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are wont to staie hastie motions, and to stop rash desires. How commendable and honozable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be weakened?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victories so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was nosed therewith; he had not so manie friends who reioiced for the same, but he had manie more enimies who maligne and cruied at him, not onelie in slanderous words and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pitie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed any to be put to death for the same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whome he had of more clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie acquitted. And thus as his pitie did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. How beaustie then and impious is that crueltie, wherein victory is not ioined with pitie: For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which doe wage the battell, contend and fight for the victory; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praise, worthie to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victory to be cruell; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had bene a great increase of our victory, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had bene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saued, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fel-

lowship of men; if we should now kill them, it wold be to our great shame, dishonor, and reproch for ever. And for so much as by the killing and destroying of them we shall be neuer the nerer to haue the countrie, nor neuer closer to be the lords of the land; and yet the ransoming of them verie good for the maintenance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the advancement of our honour: we must needs thinke it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it is requisit and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the blood of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and balliantlie stand to his tackle for victory: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceased, & the armes laid downe, and all fierces of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humanitie take place, pitie must be shewed, and courtesie must be extended.

The oration or speech which

Herueie made.

Chap. 15.

**W**hen Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this manner. Reimond hath verie exquisitely discoursed with vs of pitie and mercie, and in set speeches uttering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to beleue, that a strange land were to be conquered sooner by mercie and fond pitie than by sword and fire. But I praise you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke? Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselves vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pitie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to doe for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pitie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and means to be subdued: but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obeye, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the government may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein and in this point must pitie be vsed, but in the other seueritie or rather crueltie is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vsed. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people already subdued and subiect; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whome no balliant seruice nor chualtrie can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Do not we see how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are wholly bent, and not without cause altogether conspired against vs?

Surelie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his coming hither was not to despite of pitie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. What an example of impious pitie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remote and compassion vpon others distresses? Whereouer, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euery place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among our

our felues. Round about vs our enimies are infinit, and within our felues some there be which praetise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weakie and slender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armours and weapons against vs. Well well, the moule is in the cupbord, the fire is in the lay, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand ready to oppresse his aduersarie, and the gess is in place with small courtisie to requit his host. And I prate you doth not Keimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his wordes: Are not his speeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enimies when they come in god arraie and well appointed to giue the onset, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pittie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransom? Tush what need manie wordes when the deeds are apparant: Our victorie is to be so bled, that the destruction of these few may be a terror to manie; whereby all others and this wilde and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiously stand to persewme what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pittie set aside, holdie and stoutlie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall after the mind and opinion of Keimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must holse vp our sailles and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and wretched people. Heracles opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their liues were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned.

The coming ouer of Richard Strang-  
bow earle of Chester into Ireland, and  
of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

Chap. 16.

**I**n this meane time Richard the earle, hauing provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterprize, took his iournie, and came through Wales to S. Danibis: and still as he went he took vp all the best chosen and piket men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readinesse met and necessarie for such a botage, he went to Milford haueu, and hauing a good wind took shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the bigill of saint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of god seruice, and a thousand others. Then was fulfilled Celidons prophesie, which was; that A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire. Like wise was fulfilled the sayeng of Merlin; A great follower of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Leinster, and the waies before opened & made ready he shall enlarge. Keimond being aduertised of the earles arriuall, went the next morrow vnto him with great foie, hauing with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of seruice. And on the morrow vpon saint Bartholomews daie, being tuesdaye, they displayed their banners, and in god arraie they marched to the walls of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue

Prophecies  
of Celidon  
and Merlin  
fulfilled.

the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundoogh manslie defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Keimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe open posts without the wals, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that place. And hauing betwene downe the posts where vpon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pittie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Keimolds tower they took two murderers prisoners, whom they barmed and killed; also they took there Keimold, and Macclathilen the lan prince of the Deeries: but these were saved by means of the comming and suite of Mac Spozogh, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in god order, Mac Spozogh gaue his daughter Eua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and couenant; and then the marriage solemnized and all things set in order, they displayed their banners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now builded a strong fort and blockehouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles doth it appeere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Keimolds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie neere adjoining to a late monasterie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthe of any report; sauing that the author doth alledge it as a fort in those daies used for a defence.

The besieging and taking of the  
citie of Dublin.

Chap. 17.

**E**rmon being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & stocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had lated all the waies, passages and streets about the citie, whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that he could not forget the iniuries don to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doze of a certain ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore about all others he most mortallie hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselves, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parle and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the younger sort were busie in weapons. For Keimond and Miles of Cogan, two lustie young gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder spars in the fields than

Two strange  
miracles.

to li  
par  
th  
sudi  
in, c  
not  
ter  
esca  
and  
laic  
ther  
tic,  
mir  
wou  
nie,  
it re  
of i  
few  
saw  
gou  
per  
wai  
king  
sted  
in ti  
his  
here  
beir  
sent  
" will  
" peac  
lant  
" and  
" will  
" will  
" not  
" thy  
" bou  
and  
" will  
" it th  
stou  
that  
pzi  
heri  
all  
swe  
a for  
soni  
(1)  
Irel  
of th  
whic  
out  
first  
it st  
and  
boze  
the r  
is to  
bual  
is ca  
rtue  
tolu  
that  
the e  
by y  
peer  
in th  
as a  
busa  
on t  
wea

Two strange  
miracles.

to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase honoz in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenly ran to the walles, & giuing the assault, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enemies: but yet the greater number of them, with Vasculphus their captein, escaped awaie with such riches & iewels as they had, and recouered themselves vnto certeine ships which laie there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there happened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a croffe or a rod which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not noz would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the same rod twice, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see more thereof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogair: but he himselfe by the persuation of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Morike king of Metch) invaded the borders of Metch, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Metch being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Mothorike king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, because his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Dermot Mac Morogh with this message. Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou didst staie and keepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we bare therewith, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, noz regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fordidle & lewolie passed thy bounds: I am to require thee, that thou doe retire and withdraw these excurfies of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee. Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not glue ouer that which he had begun, noz desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recouered the monarchie of all Ireland. Mothorike being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therewith, & forthwith in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelauis, the eldest of three brethren named Ossin or Casserlings: which came first out of Normandie, or (as some write) out of Normandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marshy ground: and because when the same was first builded, the laboyers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it toke the name thereof. It was also called Dolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, flowing not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Duellin; it standeth vpon the river named Aneliphus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne, being the cheefest citie and emporium of all that land. It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part thereof is a verie old castle, builded first by Henrie Londoners archbishop of Dublin, about the yere 1212, which is now the quenes castell, & wherin the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherin the courts for the common law at the vsuall termes are kept. The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are more Englishmen, but

of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall more at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

### The councell or synod kept at Armagh.

Chap. 18.

These things thus ended & compleated, there was a synod or councell of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & wherefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerie mans opinion was, that it was Gods iust plague for the finnes of the people, and especiallie because they vsed to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) did make bondslauens of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slaueerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslauens in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said councell, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, wherefoeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set free and at libertie.

### The proclamation of king Henrie the second against the earle, and of the sending of Reimond to the king.

Chap. 19.

When tidings was caried abroad of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the newes the further it went, the more it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recouered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set forth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thenceforth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion, should passe or traffike into Ireland: and that all manner of his subjects which were within that realme, should returne from thence into England before Easter then next following, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw him selfe in this distres, being in perill to lose his friends, and in hazard to want his necessaries, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruient Dermot Mac Morogh. And what soeuer I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

C. ij.

The



The départure of Reimond to the  
king, and the death of Dermot  
Mac Morogh.

Chap. 20.

**R**eimond (according to the order taken, and commandement given to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & having deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murdered or slaine; and the yeare following about the halends of Maie, Dermot Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much ado about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyred for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a forward and obstinat traitor against his master & soueraigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of John Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus  
and the Easterlings or Norwaie-  
men at Dublin.

Chap. 21.

**A**t this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsonside, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then driuen to flee to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had bene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and having obtained the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recover the same. And without anie delaies he landed and vnsipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named John Wood or John Mad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish maner, being harnessed with good brigandines, jacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armour, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell araic, and in good order, did march on wards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enemies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & inforcing vpon him, he was dri-

uen to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of the more being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Calloglasse axe. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issued out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enemies, maketh a great shout, and therewith sharpelie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismaied, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent vncertaine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others John of Widenford toke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so sharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe alike into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there he was kept till he should compound for his ransom. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for his euill fortune and ouerthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saying: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginnings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the tongue standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his graefe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courteously granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or hauen of Dublin is a barred hauen, and no great ships do come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they do lie in a certaine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fise miles from the citie, and the same is called Kingwood; and from thence to Holie hed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and  
Gotred king of Man do be-  
siege the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 22.

**A**fter this, the Irishmen perceiving that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and vittels did wast, decaie, and consume for want of their wanted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselves, and did agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured there vnto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell herein: and joining with Rothorike the king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, using their persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water, and the other at land: who were easilie to be persuaded ther vnto, and forthwith yielded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing battie god successe they feared lest they in

time  
quel  
with  
ship  
win  
vert  
Ane  
vert  
are  
to ic  
peri  
nie,  
the  
con  
den  
cou  
a gr  
at t  
this  
who  
but  
on t  
froi  
shar  
ber  
fit  
kan  
wit  
and  
wit  
and  
froi  
blei  
of a  
ten  
sta  
wit  
the  
to b  
her  
hin

S

up  
fio  
ant  
be  
e st  
tha  
an  
cor  
dai  
hai  
me  
ts  
W  
hai  
fio  
car  
ou  
to  
an  
bs  
hol  
an  
far  
an

time would giue the onset on them, and make a conquest ouer their possessions. And therefore they forthwith made themselves readie, and prepared their ships accordingly. And as soon as the next good wind serued, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the haven of Anelisse, or port of Dublin: whose coming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whie? Whose helps are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to ioinc with them which be or feare to be in the like perils and dangers? But the earle and his companye, who had bene shut by now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittells failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that upon the kings commandement a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a manner were at their wits end, and wist not what to do. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she knoweth, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischæse vpon mischæse, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermot came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought newes that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of thye thousand persons had besieged Robert Fitzstephans and his few men in his castell of the Kerechie, and unlesse they did helpe and rescue him within thye daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond; who was lately returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distress of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie toke and was grieved with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enemies, should be in so weake a hold not able to keepe out such a compaignie: and so rising vpon maeth this speech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

## The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

**W**orthie men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to liue delictuouse: but to trie fortune, and to seeke aduentures. We had sometimes vpon the top of the whele, and the game was on our side; but now the whele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt she will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the vncertaine state & course of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie do interchangeable, and by course the one follow the other. After daie cometh the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spied his beames all the daie time, then he cometh to his fall: and as soon as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut vpon euerie side by our enemies. We be destitute of vittells, and can haue no reliefe neither by land nor yet by sea: our frends cannot helpe vs, and our enemies readie to deuoure vs. Likewise Fitzstephans, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprise hath made waie vnto vs into this Island, he now is also shut vpon in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and keepe out so great a force. Whie then do we tarry? And wherefore do we so linger? Is there any hope of reliefe from home? No no, the matter

is other wise, and we in worse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, even so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Wherefore so much as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delaie the matter, nor like sluggards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittells not all spent, let vs giue the onset vpon our enemies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may haplie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and unarmed people. These speeches he vsed as the sicke man is wont to do, who in hope of recoverie of his health, doth manie times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greife and heauinesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like angulish and heauinesse spake thus:

## The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

**R**enowned, and worthie, & noble men, suppose I saue for valiantnesse and chualrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our hono: and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pithilie he hath aduised, and how prudentlie he hath counselled vs what we shall do in this our distresse and present necessitie: Wherefore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolve our selues what we will do. The time is short, the perils imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delaies are now to be vsed. It is no time now to sit in long counceils, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perils we must vse present remedies. We see the enemies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape; but we must either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittells faile vs, and our prouision wareth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king, I haue already at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispraiseth not our aduities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuiceth at our glorie: in words he reporteth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reliefe where none is meant; it were but a mere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Wherefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reliefe: let vs as becommeth noble, lustie, and valiant men, trie the course of fortune, and proue the force of the enimie. Let it appere vnto them as it is knowne vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Cambier (as it is well knowne) the first particular king of Cambria our native countrie, was our ancesto: and he the sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose ancesto: was Trois the founder of the most famous citie of Troie, and he descended from Dardanius the sonne of Iupiter, from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the Renme

C. III. of

of ancient nobilitie, but also a certeine naturall inclination of vallant minds, & couragious stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chualrie, and therein all our ancestors haue borne verie skillfull and expert. And shall we now like Suggards degenerate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and vnarmed rascalls, in whome is no baloe of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of sauages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Grece kept warres for ten peares & od moneths continuallie against our ancestors in the famous cite of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, untill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which vsed vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph? Shall the honoe of our ancestors be withered by our sluggishnesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and vnarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and vallantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the blood of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enemies be neuer so manie, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afraid; as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so saued nor princes do so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to encounter with a greater number, being wretches and Suggards. For fortune though she be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies flaking and moueable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of vallant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentiful, I could hereof recite manie pe a infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scythian queene, did not she with a few hundredes encounter with the great monarch Cypus, hauing manie thousands, and take him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he overcome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men breake into the campes of the mightie Xerxes, and there slae six thousand of them? Let vs come a little nerer euer to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namely you my right honourable earle at Wexford, and my vnkle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundojogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our vallantnesse overcame and conquered them being manie.

What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, sith time shall sooner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white liued? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do issue out vpon them, as ferretic and as suddenlie as we maie, and boldlie giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rotherike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest do depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the residue will fle, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie. When Keimond had ended his

speeches and finished his oration, euerie one so wel liked thereof, as with one consent they gaue euer, and yeldeo to his resolution and opinion.

(1) Cypus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia, after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to do the like in Scythia did invade the same: Thomiris being then queene thereof. And on a certeine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenlie as though he had bene afraid of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and vittels. Which when the queene heard, she sent hir onelie sonne a yong gentleman with the third part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cypus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and vittels, whereunto the Scythians had not before bene accustomed, they fell so hungerlic to their vittels, and dranke to liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and overcommmed with surfetting. Which when Cypus heard of, he suddenlie and secretlie in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleepe, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much grieved with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And the likewise slaying hir selfe to sle, Cypus by pursuing of hir was brought into certeine narrow streits, where she taking the aduantage of him, took him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same.

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedemonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Grece, & that he had made preparation therefore six peares together, doth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie three hundred thousand of his owne subjects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streits of Thermopolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels three daies together with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow.

How Rotherike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

Chap. 25.

Immediatlie vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made him selfe readie and got on his armor, thinking it too long yet they did bicker with the enemy: and being all assembled and in good arrate, they diuided them into three wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Keimond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Gaunrice Fitzgerald with fortie gentlemen and all their soldiers. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, saving such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the citie. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they strided among themselves, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuertheless they in the end agreed and appointed in order how all things should be done: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon

vpon the order, be among the first through lernas a of Pau they we luskie m most, a manie c

The due, wh and so li nities and to r sued the ling the much in ple; the a num the onli fore tab a bathi and hot fled o: f berlein but tolt a faice he wor he esca ned, the not on great b trach. camps chelew all the Werfi Likeu Shagh noth f selues order, and ce ford, a

The

Al

fath f for t ting f which Fitzl naml hare Fitzl nothi abow uallu agat were nie ti were selue this selfe

idem de qua  
imper.

upon their enemies, who then were out of arate and order, being vnwares of their comming. Keimond among the first being the first was foremost, & gaue the first aduenture, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance or staffe slue them both. Petellus also and Girald and Alexander the two sonnes of Spaurice, although they were in the reerward; yet they were so hot vpon the spurre, and followed in such lustie manner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right ballantlie did ouerthrow and kill 10 manie of the enemies.

The like ballant minds were in all the whole rest due, who now strived & serued all for the best game: and so lustilie they acquitted themselves, that the enemies being afraid, were faine to take their heeles and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them euen vntill night, still murdering & spoiling them. Rothorike the king himselfe trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were within, would issue out and giue the onset vpon so manie as were without. And therefore taking his pleasure and pastance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled or slene awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberlaine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and post hast he could, he turneth a faire paire of heeles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharpe pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recovered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but also with great booties and prizes of vittels, armor, and other trash. Immediatlie also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Oachlaghlin, Oacheleton, Gillemeholcke and Kencelos, who had all the force of Leinster, sauing a few of Kencle and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Likewise Morike of Meth, Oharrell of Triell, Oachaghlane and Oadelle which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Ozone.

### The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the Kerecke.

Cap. 26.

**A**fter this good successe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one staie, doth now change his course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencle, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured vnto Robert Fitzstephans, do now assemble themselves to the number of three thousand, and do march toward the Kerecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but five gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enemies giue the assault, & not preuailing at the first, do renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, because that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Spott, who in this seruice did verie well and worthilie acquit himselfe; they now do seeke to practise their old subtil-

ties and guiles. They leauing therefore to vse force and violence, do now vnder colour of peace come toward the Kerecke and bring with them the bishop of Kilbare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a masse booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine reliques: and after a few speeches of persuation had with Fitzstephans, they to compasse their matter, toke their corporall othes, and sware vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Spaurice, Keimond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed; that Rothorike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinster, was comming towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare vnto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come vnto him to conuete him awaie in safetie, and all his over into Wales, before the comming of that great multitude, which were his extreme and mortall enemies. Fitzstephans giuing credit to this their swearing and auowments, did forthwith yeld himselfe, his people, & all that he had vnto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorouslie, of them that thus yelded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But asone as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselves with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Island Begorie, which they call the holie Island, and which lieth in the middle of the haueu there.

### The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

Chap. 27.

**A** noble man, the onelie patterne of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who hauing tried the variableness of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! A worthie man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compasse of fortunes whele, and had endured whatsoeuer good fortune or euil could giue! A Fitzstephans, the vertie second an other (1) Spartus, for if you do consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat aboue modeltie giuen to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Ozone, which was a place full of freights, passes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gave him the battell, betwene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enemies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelie youngman recovered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Petellus shewed himselfe to be a right balliant man.

(1) This Spartus was named Casus Spartus, his father was borne in Arphrum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieved by Petellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and vnder whom, both the father and the sonne were seruants: but being giuen

giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie balliant man, and did as good service to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Africa he conquered, and in his first triumph Jugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambrians, Germans, and Ligurians wanting habitations, and thinking to settle themselves in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and slue of them at one time fourescore thousand souldiers, and threescore thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and ouerthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themselves, & did thinke verelie that they should be bitterlie destroyed. In this distresse Marius toke the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Teutobochas, and two hundred thousand men, besides fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambrians, and slue their king Belens, and air hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also toke fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Again in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Marius, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worse side (for all Italie began to forsake them) and in this distresse Marius hauing gotten but a small power in respect of the enemies, giueth the onset vpon the Marians, and at two times he slue fouretene thousand of them: which so quailed the Italians, and encouraged the Romans, that the Romans recovered themselves and had the maiestrie. As in the warres so otherwise was Marius verie fortunate: for being but of a base stocke, yet he married Julia, a noble woman of the familie of the Iulies, and aunt vnto Iulius Cesar: he passed thorough the most part of the offices in Rome: he was first *Legatus a senatu*, then *Præfectus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis*, *Prætor*, *Aedilis*, and seuen times was he consull. And as fortune seemed to fauour and countenance him aboue all other in Rome; so did she also checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miseries. For his pride was so excessive, and his ambition so intollerable, that the best and most part of the Romans deadlie hated and enuied him: and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis*, *Prætor*, & *Tribune*, he was relected; he was accused for ambition, and proclaimed a traitor and an enemy to the common-wealth: he was enforced to forsake Rome and flee into Affrike. Also being at the seas, the mariners cast him on land among his enemies, and drave him to shift for himselfe. When he was pursued by his enemies, he was faine to hide himselfe in a bog, and covered himselfe with dirt & mire because he would not be knowne. Nevertheless he was taken and deliuered to a slau to be killed. Marius other stormes of aduersitie and miserie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was said of him, that in miserie no man was more miserable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happy than he.

### The description of the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 28.

**T**he earle was somewhat ruddle and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eyes greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high Nature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: what he could not compasse and bring to passe in

deed, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more ready to yield and obeye, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the state and countenance of a balliant capteine. Of himselfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie aduenture, or presumptuously take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand balliantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chanches of warre he was still one and the same manner of man, being neither dismayed with aduersitie, nor puffed up with prosperitie.

The earle leauing Wexford vpon the  
newes that Fitzstephans was in hold, went  
to Waterford, and from thence sailed  
into England, & was reconciled  
to the king.

Chap. 29.

**W**hen the earle was marching towards  
Wexford, and was come to the borders thereof, certeine messengers met him, and shewed to him the mischance happened vnto Robert Fitzstephans, and of the setting on fire the towne of Wexford: adding moreover, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzstephans and his companie, and send them vnto him. Wherevpon with heauie cheare & sorrowfull hearts they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Bernie now latelie returned from the king with a message and letters from him vnto the earle, persuading and requiring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Wherevpon the earle prepared and made himselfe ready, and as sone as wind and weather serued he toke shipping, and caried Bernie along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called Newham nere vnto Gloucester, where he was in redines with a great armie to saile ouer into Ireland. Where after sundrie & manie altercations passed betwene them, at length by means of Bernie the kings displeasure was appeased, and it was agreed that the earle should sweare allegiance to the king, and yield and surrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the cantreds ther vnto adioining, as also all such towne and forts as were bordering vpon the sea side. And as for the residue he should haue and retaine to him and his heires, holding the same of the king & of his heires. These things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by Seuerne side, & the sea coasts of (1) Westwales, vnto the towne (2) of Penbroke, where he taried untill he had assembled all his armie in (3) Spilford haue there to be shipped.

(1) Westwales in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called Penbrokeshire. It reacheth from the seas on the north vnto the seas on the south. In the west part thereof is the bishops see of Speneue named saint Dauid: and on the east side it bordereth vpon Southwales named Debenbart. In this part were the Flemmings placed first.

(2) Penbroke is the chiefeest towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the east side of Spilford haue, wherein was sometimes a verie strong castell builded (as some write) by a noble man named Arnulph Spontomer.

(3) Spilford

(1) Spilford  
lieth in the  
name of the  
ches or ar  
west, and  
Kroma.

Ororiko  
blin, is

**A**ff  
hi  
ee  
ce

mustered  
sudden ab  
to the cit  
then but f  
rie men in  
sed, but t  
balliantm  
time and  
Cogan a  
vpon the  
ping, ma  
there wa  
tleman, o  
of Engle  
out with  
trie: but  
take his  
land. A  
ping of  
at lengt  
led, the  
and gra  
Whili  
in haluk  
gothaw  
falcon f  
rocke to  
also spi  
the king  
bafet, f  
now at  
mount  
uantag  
dolone  
hir bac  
foot: w  
sent ha  
king, a  
at the  
them: i  
more h

Th

**A**ff  
hi  
ee  
ce

uids &  
dome  
serutin  
ford it  
date:  
of ser



(2) *Spilford* is a famous and a goodlie harborough lying in *Domelia*, or *Westwailes*. The *Welshmen* name it the mouth of two swows. It hath two baynches of armes, the one flowing hard to *Hauerford* west, and the other thorough the countrie named *Kiomla*.

*Ororike* prince of *Meth* besieging *Dublin*, is driven off by *Miles Cogan*, and hath the worst side.

## Chap. 30.

**I**n the meane time *Ororike*, the one eled king of *Meth*, watching the absence of the earle as also of *Richmond*, the one being in England, and the other at *Waterford*, he mustered a great number of soldiors, and vpon a sudden about the kalends of September, laicth siege to the citie of *Dublin*: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and beerie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: euen so vertue and valiantnesse can not be shut vp, but that it will (when time and occasion seruethe) shew it selfe. For *Spiles Cogan* and all his companie vpon a sudden issue out vpon the enemies, and vnwares taking them napping, made a gre at slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of *Ororike*, a lustie yong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lying at *Penbroke* in *Wales*, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: because they had suffered the earle *Richard* to take his passage among them from thence into *Ireland*. And remouing such as had any charge or keeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, and his displeasure qualified, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilste the king late there, he had gre at pleasure in halwing, and as he was walking abroad with a gosshawke of *Sporewaile* vpon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting vpon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his gosshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon seeing his selfe thus beset, taketh also wing: and albeit his flight was but slow at the first; yet at length she maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the advantage of the gosshawke his aduersarie, commeth downe with all his might, and striking him the claue his backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: wherat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did pearells at the breeding and discloding time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawke.

## The comming of king Henrie into Ireland.

## Chap. 31.

**T**hese things thus done, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had staied a long time in *Wales*, he went to saint *Dauids* church, where when he had made his praiers and done his deuotion, the wind and the wether well seruing, he took shipping and arriued vnto *Waterford* in the kalends of *November*, being saint *Lukes* daie: hauing in his retinue sixe hundred gentlemen of seruice, and of bowmen and horsemen a great

number. This was in the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortieth of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred & seauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and Lewis then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of *Merlin*, that A fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall deuour and consume all *Ireland* round about: and likewise the prophesie of saint *Polin*, that Out of the east shall come a mightie hurling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall run thorough and ouerthrow the force and strength of *Ireland*.

The citizens of *Wexford* present vnto the king *Robert Fitzstephans*, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

## Chap. 32.

**T**he king being thus landed at *Waterford*, and there resting himselfe, the citizens of *Wexford*, vnder colour and pretense of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought *Robert Fitzstephans* bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into *Ireland*, & giuen thereby an occasion to others to offend and to do euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie depelie and sharple for his rash and hardie aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of *Ireland* without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be fastlie kept in *Kenold* towler. Then *Dermon Mac Arth* prince of (1) *Corke* came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and toke his oth to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king remoued his armie and marched toward (2) *Lismore*, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) *Cashill*, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) *Sure*, *Donold* prince of (5) *Limerike*: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and keepers ouer the cities of *Corke* and *Limerike*.

Then also came in *Donold* prince of *Mozie*, and *Maclegghlin* & *Felin* prince of the *Decies*, and all the best & chiefe men in all *Hounster*, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to *Waterford* through (6) *Wibach*. When he came to *Waterford*, *Fitzstephans* was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the valiantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had bene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgane him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him wholie to his former state and libertie, sauing that he reserued to himselfe the towne of *Wexford*, with the territories and lands thereunto adioining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betrayed him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) *Corke*, in Latine named *Corcagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of *Hounster*, and builded (as it should appeare) by the *Casterlings* or *Sporewailes*. It standeth now in a marish or a bog, and vnto

Prophecies of  
Merlin and  
Polin fulfill-  
ed.

to it floweth an arme of the seas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harboroughs for ships, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchandise, by the which the citie is chieflie maintained: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great travellers themselves; but also great store of strange merchants doe daillie resort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a sufficient defense against the Irishye. In it is the bishops see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the bishop of Cork. The citie is governed by a maior and two bailiffes, who vsing the gouernement according to the lawes of England, doe keepe and mainteine the same in verie good order. They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they doe continuallie, as men lying in a garison, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did most commonlie keepe & staie himselfe in all troubles within that citie, untill the time the same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer since haue inhabited in the same.

(2) A llesmore in times past was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie riuer, which floweth vnto Poughall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometimes a bishoprike, but of late vnto the bishoprike of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Cork.

(3) Cashill is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and standeth vpon the riuer Sure. In it is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, bearing the name thereof, who is one of the foure archbishoprikes of that land, and vnder him are the bishops of Waterford, Cork, and seuen others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable riuer, and one of the chieffest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghbloime, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Manie good townes are seated and builded vpon the same, & it is nautigable more than the one halfe. It flecteth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Thozleis, whereof the earle of Dymond is baron: from thence to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thence to Carig Mac Criffith, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Dymond; and from thence flecting by Tibrach, it commeth to Waterford; and flecting by the wals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerike is one of the first cities builded by the Forwates or Casserlings, named sometimes Dismen: the founder whereof was the pongest of thre brethren whose name was Puous. It standeth vpon the famous and noble riuer of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Island. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land within the prouince of Mounster, called the north Mounster, and is from the maine seas about fortie miles, and yet at the wals euen the greatest ship at the seas maie be discharged and vnladen, and pærelie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and bailiff: after and according to the English lawes and ord. It was in times past vnder a particular prince of it self, but euer since the conquest it hath bene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doe so still continue therein.

(6) Tibrach is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Criffith. In it is a great store standing, which is the bound betwene the countie of Bilkennie and Dymond.

Rothorike OConnor the monarch and  
all the princes in Vlsiter submit and yeeld  
themselues vnto the king, as he pat-  
feth towards Dublin.

Chap. 33.

These things thus done at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his household, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countie of Mssorie: and staing somewhat by the waie in his tourne, there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelye Macphelan Macphelan prince of Mssorie, Macche Talcwie, Macphelie Gillemeholoch, Macchadese, Mac Carrell of Uricell & Maczike of Mseth: all which yeilded & submitted themselves to the king in their owne persons, & became his vassalls, & swoze fealtie. But Rothorike the monarch came no nêrer than to the riuer side of the (1) Shenin, which diuiderth Connagh from Mseth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzaldeline by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, swoze allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Vlsiter brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did yeeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Rothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whole land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indeed there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did present himselfe before the kings maiestie, and yeilded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Apolin: Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace. Likewise the prophesie of Apelin; All the birds of that Island shall flie to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned. Also the old prophesie of Apelin Ambrose; Fine positions shall be brought into one, & the first shall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland. That which Ambrose nameth here the first, Celidonius nameth the first, as appeareth in his booke of propheties. Now when the feast of Christmasse did approach and draw nêre, manie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court; and when they saw the great abundance of vittels, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed there vnto, they much wondered and maruelled thereat: but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine soldiors, being bolwmen, seased at Finn glas, and they helued and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had bene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men: and all these soldiors suddenlie fell sicke of the pestilence and died all: as is more at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the chieffest and most famous riuer in that land, and doth in a manner inuiron and inclose all Connagh, & diuiderth it from the prouinces of Mounster and Mseth: his head and spring is in the hill named Therne, which bordereth vpon O Connor & Legos countrie, not farre from the riuer of

of the same be about a f is increaser run into the riuer and ci it are manie nesse, which with abundance logh Mre, a bone thre li famous citi ouer it, build honorable putie of the

The

an ca tri

clergie bti on was m ple of the le uoxiting, a llesmore, fient of th and decree which are p marriage, cleane kee uerfall chr things to t land. Whi throughout

Con

of bi

like see, & archbishi Thomond abbats, a prelates of ment of ti a synod at concern the church counsell whom he l Rafe arch chapleine god stat fed, which king him these that faithfull should for himselfe lie they n be catech in the fo Thirble and truli and all o

Ecclesiasticall constitutions in Ireland.

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chiefeft whereof is that which riseth and commeth out of the lough or lake Foile. In it are manie loghs or lakes of great quantitie or big- nesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stozed with abundance of fish: the chiefeft of which are the lough Uie, and the lough Derigid. It is nauigable a- boue thre score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one bidge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord de- putie of the realme.

### The councill or synod kept at Cathill.

Chap. 34.

**T**he realme being now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honoz and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cathill, where inquirie and examinati- on was made of the wicked and lose life of the peo- ple of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemoze, who being then the popes legat was pre- sident of that councill. And then & there were made and decreed sundrie good and godlie constitutions, which are yet extant; as namelie, for contrading of marriage, for payment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vni- uersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of Eng- land. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and doe here follow.

### Constitutions made at the coun- cell of Cathill.

Chap. 35.

**I**n the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lisemoze, and legat of the aposto- like see, Donat archbishop of Cathill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, beanes, & manie other prelates of the church of Ireland, by the commande- ment of the king did assemble themselves and kept a synod at Cathill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councill were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Rafe abbat of Buldwais, Rafe archdeacon of (1) Landaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie good statutes and wholesome laws were there deu- sed, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselfe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all good faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbeare and shun to marrie with their nere kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfu- lie they should doe. Secondarilie, that childezen shall be catechised without the church dore, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christian bodie doe faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tiths of his cattels, coine, and all other his increase and profits to the church &

parish where he is a parishoner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ire- land, shall be free from all secular exactions and im- positions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noble men, nor their childezen, nor familie, shall ex- tort or take anie coine and luerie, cocherie, nor rudi- dies, nor anie other like custome from thenceforth, in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they nor no other person doe henceforth 10 exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and de- testable customes of coine and luerie, which they were wont to extort vpon such towne and villages of the churches, as were nere and next bordering vpon them. Fiftlie, that when carke or composition is made among the laie people for anie murder, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to a- nie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing there- vnto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murder, so shall they be free from payment of monie, for anie 20 such carke or release for the same. Sixtly, that all and euerie good christian being sicke & weake, shall before the priest and his neighbors make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his mouables to be diuided (if he haue anie childezen) into thre parts: whereof one part to be to the childezen, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no childezen, then the goods to be di- 30 uided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wife, but onelie childezen, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, whereof the one to himselfe, and the other to his childezen. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian be- ing dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be re- uerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finalle, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of 40 England. For it is meet and right, that as by Gods prouidence and appointment Ireland is now be- come subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thence the order, rule, and ma- ner how to reforme themselves, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer good thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religi- on, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankfull vnto him for the same: for before his comming into 50 the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wicked- nesses in times past flowed and reigned amongest them: all which now by his authoritie and godnesse are abolished. The primat of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the common sateng was) had a white cow, and being fed onelie by his milke, she was alwaies carried with him wheresoeuer he went and trauelled from home.

### The tempestuous and stormie winter.

Chap. 36.

**T**he seas, which a long time had bene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there arised scarce anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there a- nie news heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Where vpon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them.

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & sinfull life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and thozes, which had manie yeares bene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former fast and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which did in times past grow there: and by reason they had bene so long couered, & as it were buried under the sands, they stood as trunked and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Ebenie. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drie land. But some suppose that this was so at the first, and that those trees were there growing before or shortly after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Waterford, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he coulde, how he might sleeke and procure vnto him Keimond, Miles Cogan, William Spakerell, & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king  
by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the legat from the pope vnto him,

Chap. 37.

After which the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the soner come and met with them. Besides this, there was worse newes told him, and a worse mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie good lucke commeth alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so deerie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two younger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and for verie anguish and greefe of mind did sweat. First it grieved him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime whereof he was guiltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and insue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Pea, and it grieved him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good state, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and driven to leaue the same vndone. Wherefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his comming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he thought himselfe, as also toke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be done in these his weightie causes.

The king returneth homewards  
through Westwales, and of the speaking  
stone at saint Dauids.

Chap. 38.

The king being minded and determined to returne into England, let his realm of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacle (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countrie of Metch) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitzstephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and constables of Dublin. Likewise he left Humfreie de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Gundenile, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Waterford. Also he left William Fitzalbelme, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Buse, to be gouernors and rulers of Waterford: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the monday in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he toke shipping without the barre of Waterford; and the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the noontide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Dauids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Dauids, whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemnelie in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman, and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpreter declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, did loyng hir fists, and cried out with a loud voice; Keuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, keuenge vs I say, our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And being willed by the people of that countrie, who vnderstood hir speech, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir out of the companie, she cried the more, trusting and alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin, which was; that The king of England the conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar. This Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great stone which lay ouer a brooke, which steeleth or runneth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a bridge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten fot, in breadth six fot, and in thiknesse one fot. And this word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh tongue, is to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind saie among the people in that countrie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to be buried, and the said stone spake, and forthwith brake and claued asunder in the middle, and which cliff so remaineth vnto this daie. And there vpon the people of that countrie, of a verie vaine and barbarous superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodies ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing of this prophesie, paused and staid a little while; and then vpon a sudden, verie hastily he went ouer it: which done, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake somewhat sharpetie, saieing: Who is he that will beleeue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that place standing thereby, and seeing what had happened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a loud voice; Thou art

art not I  
Merlin  
cathod  
drew an  
ers, an  
rode aft  
twelue

(1)  
yeare 1  
stone, b  
where t  
ched b  
which b  
church,  
and pre  
were b  
But as  
altogeth  
with d  
stone, t  
remain  
stone t

The  
P

Merlin

ship  
lie vnt  
repair  
humb  
after  
them;  
lesse o  
theles  
him;  
confer  
but th  
bassa  
with  
to ke  
the m  
seren  
upon  
drie l  
meau  
espec  
then  
in pil  
bed;  
and  
was  
mall  
their  
quai

(1)  
deat  
ter t  
pope  
fact,  
oth,  
yet  
was  
did  
tim

act not be that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth sperlin meane it of the. The king then went into the cathedraill church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and hauing made his prayers, and heard diuine seruice, he went to supper, and rode after to Haueford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1) The winter hereof (of verie purpose) in the yeare 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an archie bridge, vnder which fleteth the brooke aforesaid, which brooke doth not distube the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie fatte and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen down, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also therewith decayed. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certaintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue bene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betweene him and the French king.

Chap. 39.

The king then took his iourne from Haueford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waie as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediately vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble maner before them. Where before whom after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betweene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was gilty lesse of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheless he was contented to do the penance inioined him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murdering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his (1) sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king tranelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewis the French king, betweene whom then was discorde and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betweene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was cleerlie released. And by these means, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quailed, and so continued vntill the yeare following.

(2) They which do write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he took a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gaue anie consent, or was priuie thereof, nor yet was gilty in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admit-

ted to the presence and sight of the pope, vntill he had yielded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certaine penance, as also to performe certaine intunitions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred soldiers for one whole yeare, to defend the holie land against the Turke, that he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them listeth to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted themselves to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Roman bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delaie or let, and to inioy and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoeuer they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospel) their onlie inducement was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

Chap. 40.

At before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his coming from Ireland. In his iourne he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturday in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sunday, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Now sunday, he went somewhat earlie to the chapel of saint Vertan, and there heard diuine seruice, but he staid there in his secret prayers behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yallowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about fortie yeares; his apparell was white, being close & botune to the ground, he was girted about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saying; God saue the king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, John baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thee: and do stralke charge and commend thee, that thou do forbid, that henceforth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundayes: and that vpon those daies no maner or person do anie bodilie worke, but onely to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dress the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horse by the bzide, and whose name was Philip Bertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he deame or not. Which when he had so done, the man looking vpon the king said: Whether I deame or not, marke well and remember what saie this is: for if thou do not this, and speallic amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yeare cometh about heare such euill news of those things which thou louest.



lowest be it, and thou shalt be so much inquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end untill thy dying date. With this word the king put spur to the horse and rode awaie towards the towne gate, which was at hand; but thinking vpon the words assigned his horse and said; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foresaid gentleman as also one William, which two were onelie then attending vpon him, first called and then sought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, sought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Iris, but could not find him. The king being verie sad and soie that he had not throughlie talked with the man, went abroad himselfe to seeke him, but finding him not, called for his horses and rode from thence by Kemptin; lodge to Ipetoberie. And as this man had before threatened and said, it so came to passe before the yeare was ended: for his eldest sonne Henrie, and his two yonger sonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Gessreie erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forsooke and shrowke from him, and went to Lincos the French king. Whereof grew and infused vnto him such veratton and inquietnesse, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him untill his dying date. And suerlie it was thought the same by Gods iust iudgement so befell vnto him: for as he had bene and was a disobedient sonne to his spirituall father, so his carnall sonnes should be disobedient and rebellious against their carnall father. Anie such forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodnesse sent vnto him before his death, to the end he should repent and be converted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not forwardlie and obstinacie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to do) receiue and embrace the same! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the instruction and institution of a christian prince.

### The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

Chap. 41.

**I**n the meane time Ireland was in good rest and peace, vnder such as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eied Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained vnto Hugh de Lacie of certeine injuries done vnto him, praying redress: whereupon the date and a place of (1) parlee was betwene them appointed for the same. The night next before the date of this parlee, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephew of Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne to their eldest brother named William, dreamed in his sleepe that he saw a great heard of wild hogs to rush and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his uncle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the rest, had with his tusks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and strength rescued them, and killed the beere. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlee, which was a certeine hill called Morikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it selfe, they sent messengers the one to the other, requiring assurance and safetie: and hauing sworne on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a small companie on either side. For it was agreed vpon on both parties, by con-

nant excepted, that on each part they should bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all unarmed; the swords on one side and the spars on the other side, and for all the residue of the people and companie to stand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the said parlee with his uncle Maurice, was verie penfise and much troubled, concerning the vision which he saw in his sleepe; and doubting of the worst, made choise of seven of the best gentlemen of his kindred, whome he knew to be valiant, and in whome he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he draveth to the one side of the hill, but as nere to the place of parlee as he could, where euerie of them having his sword, spar and shield; leapt and mounted vp to their horses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie carriers and lustie tournaments, vnder the pretense and colour of pleasantnes and pastime; but in verie deed to be in a readinesse if need should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Morike this meane while were talking and discoursing of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Morike meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best polye out his venem, fained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whome he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come awaie vnto him; and they forthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murderous countenance, hauing his ar or spar vpon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his cousin Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue god eie and watched the matter verie narrowly; and therefore all the parlee time, he had his sword readie dravne about him; and espieing the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himselfe, and to be at defense with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murdered and dispatched him. But the interpreter of the parlee stepping in betwene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a loud voice cried out to his companie, who with all hast came awaie; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twise felled to the ground, and had suerlie bene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the ballies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, still watching for that which indeed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came awaie with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to shift himselfe awaie and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his horse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake downe and ran through both horse and man: who being thus stricken downe and killed, as also three other of his men, who brought his horse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled forthwith and ranne awaie, but being hardlie pursued euen to the verie woods, there was a great commixture and slaughter made of them. As for the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a valiant yong

(1) Es, that mongst where to reuce; u and farti led amoi the preti dresse: t and mol treasons kebnest pacifice: no park misdeed  
(2) I tventie Taraght naull c and a si pian.

Su

**H**

Prognosticall  
dreams.

reports boke at Arcadia to some one of the other at house by panton him, bte awoke dreame him be althoug helpe by declarati and put there ti much ti his fell the hoas his fact fas a g at Sir maister moroi of two (1) neti plaier him th parted did strai hauing to hau him an vnto, a being c there a tug he

Griffiths  
dreams.

young gentleman, did well acquite himselfe, and deferred great commendation for his good service.

(1) The manner of the Irishie was ever, and yet is, that when so ever there is anie controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselves for conference; which commonlie is upon some hill distant and farre from anie house, and this assemble is called among them a *parlée* or a *parlement*. And albeit the pretense hereof is of some quietnesse and redresse: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worse thing to be used among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murders and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, devised, and afterwards put in practise among them: and for the most part there is no parole among them, whereof insueth not some mischance.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of *Meth*, about twentie miles from *Dublin*, and is now called the *Baragh*: some thinke this to be the middle part of nauiill of that prouince; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

### Sundrie examples concerning visions.

Chap. 42.

**W**as so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples & true reports of the same. *Valerius Maximus* in his first booke and seauenth chapter writeth, that two men of *Arcadia*, journeying together in companie towards a towne named *Megara*, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his friend, but the other at a common Inne. He who late in his friends house being in bed and asleepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, because his host did oppresse him; wherewith he awoke, but verie shortly he fell asleepe againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie sore wounded, and prayed him that although he would not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corps, and put it into a cart to be carted to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellowe, and finding his dreame to be true, caused the host to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. *Asterius Kirus* a gentleman of *Rome* likewise, being on a time at *Siracusa*, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of fence, which came so to passe: for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplayeers or maisters of defense, whereas a netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaye. Whereupon *Asterius* offering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would haue gone and departed awake; but being perswaded to the contrarie, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing ouerthrowne the swordplaye, and thinking to haue pearced him through with his sword, missed him and stroke *Asterius*, who sat in place next there vnto, and so was he slaine. Also *Simonides* the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and

admonish him, that he should not take ship the daie following: but his felowes minding not to lose anie time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoised vp their sailes; which *Simonides* refused to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather waied to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost: but *Simonides* crediting his dreame, was saued. *Porcuer Calphurnia*, the wife vnto *Julius Cesar*, the night before her husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatlie wounded to lie in her lap: wherewith the being afraid did awake, and told *Julius* her dreame, requesting him that he would forbear to repaire to the senat house that daie: but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come nere home to our felucs. A brother of mine named *Walter Barrie*, a lustie young gentleman, making himselfe ready on a time to serue in a certeine hosting against his enimie; the night before he should take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead or long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in anie wise refraine and forbear that iournie. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in her life time as intirelie as his owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same daie was killed by his enimie.

(2) As dreames sometimes are good forewarnings to men to eschew evils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so received, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as doth appere by *Augustus* the emperor; who hauing warres against *Britus* and *Cassius*, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician *Arterius* dreamed that the goddesse *Spinera* did appere vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and tooke maruellous great pains. And albeit *Britus* taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that banquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certeine mountaine, he dreamed three nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and laie vpon a certeine well or fountaine, named *saint Bernaces well*, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat beleuing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, stung, and enuened with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby that credit is to be giuen to dreames, and I for my part do so credit of them as I do of rumors. But concerning such visions as God doth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; because the effect of them is most vndoubted, certeine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plaies, and exercises amongst themselves, and had for the same certeine amphitheatres and theaters made of purple.

D. y.

poie.

pose, wherein the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruel beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaing or fighting: for as in combats in England, so they being unharnessed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, endeavouring each one to kill the other, which were spectacles of cruelty to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmilones*, which were such as challenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we do name masters of defenses, because they bled onelie or cheslie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did vse a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and in trap their enemies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a challenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much given to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were given thereby, as doth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharaos, king Nabuchodonosor, Pardonius, Daniell, Judas Machabens, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to vse: they are not to be dytome for presidents and examples to be dailie or in these daies vsed; but rather we must haue a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandment, who by the mouths of his prophets hath utterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to giue credit vnto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceipts and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasing of some filthy lucre and gaine. Pharozius therefore inueighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were wont to relye much vpon dreames, willethe and aduisseth that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end do deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet do lie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, because thou shalt be still in feare least it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same do so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vniquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it belong yee the same do happen, thou shalt be much vniquieted to looke so long for it; and alwaies in feare least thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise do thou seeke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit vnto them.

### The description of Maurice *Fitzgerald.*

Chap. 43.

**H**is Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worthip, but some what shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent,

bring seemlie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of wordes and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speeche, and more wisdom than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take good leasure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not haffie to run headlong in anie aduenture. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduenture, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

### The first dissention betweene the king and his sonnes.

Chap. 44.

**I**n the moneth of Aprill then next following, the yong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenlie stole abaine into France, vnto Helwes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that hauing his aid he might ouer-run his owne father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his further helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did ioine with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vniquieted for, and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceived inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the means he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at Kone he committed the charge and gouernment of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but ioined Keimond in commission with him, because the earle without him would not do anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Waterford with the castell of Eniskillo.

### Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 45.

**H**e king hauing indured more than twill wars two whole yeares together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much watchings, & painfull travels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enemies; & surelie it was more of Gods goodness, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

again  
hous  
all cr  
ding  
troul  
of his  
ner l  
lie an  
sonn  
seru  
war  
the k  
ginn  
vido  
who  
his a  
nati  
ston  
plea  
Keli  
a tol  
the k  
all C  
the k  
celle  
tozo  
nie  
ters  
hair  
ther  
him  
vide  
trou  
ther  
were  
thol  
bpo  
fact  
not  
uen  
life  
pea  
mel  
ma  
his  
ted  
felt

S  
we  
be  
no  
the  
tra  
tin  
do  
ue  
Lo  
hit  
pe  
rit  
pa  
hi  
fr  
to

against the father. But forsomuch as a mans owne household are commonlie the worst enemies; and of all enemies, the household & familiar enemy is most dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and grieved the king, than the gentlemen of his privie chamber, and in whose hands in a manner late his life or death, would euerie night secretly and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should do him service, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angry with him, and in his anger to poyse upon him his wrath and indignation: yet now upon his amendement and conversion, he was become mercifull unto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Helnulf Glandeuill was then gouernor, who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and trustie to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good seruants both English and French, that he had scarce anie prisons for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captiues. But forsomuch as in haine both a man triumph of the conquests vpon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie stormes, great vnquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length hauing overcome both them and his enemies, he might the sooner haue been weakened and auenged of them: yet setting apart those affectionis euen in the middle of his triumphs vpon others, he also triumphed ouer himselfe; vniuersing such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not bene heard. For suppressing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduersaries, & life to his enemies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great stormes overcome, he granted peace to all men, and forgave ech man his offense and trespass. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselves, with all humblenesse yielding themselves to his will and pleasure.

### The description of king Henrie *the second.*

Chap. 46.

**I**T were not now amisse, but verie requisite that we should for a perpetuall remembrance of the king describe and set forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chivalrie, may also as it were before their eyes conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our history; we might not well, neither doth this history permit vs to omit and passe him ouer in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainelie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authority and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therefore, whose profession and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swaue from the same, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be

borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spotted: & him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for whie, in all worlde matters there is no certaintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his worthie doings, be delight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence so the higher powers in all manner of offices and duties, as that we should not prouoke nor moue them with anie sharpe speeches or disorderd languages. For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches breed friendship, but plainne telling of truth makes enemies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can forthwith auenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentured himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can weake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpose.

Henrie the second, king of England, was of a verie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eyes were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quivering, or trembling; his necke short, his breast broad and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie grosse feeding or surfeiting. For his diet was very temperat, and so fite the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe anie peace at all, nor take anie rest: for then did he giue himselfe whole vnto hunting, and to follow the same he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forrests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie selde be sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forsomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he doe not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies used: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his excessive trauels, and partlie by diuerse bruises in his bodie, his legs and feet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a reasonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two yonger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angry, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had overcome his enemy, yet would he be overcome with pittie towards him.

In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as proud and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and event thereof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellously lament his death, and seeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being aliue, more bewailing the dead than fauouring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & vncultic no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and household, but liberall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in hauking and hunting. Would God he had bene as well bent and disposed vnto good deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the inticing of the queene their mother, he neuer accounted to keepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certaine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow streit or pinch, he would not sticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed. And for this cause he in all his doings was verie proud and circumspect, and a verie bright and a seuerer minister of iustice, although he did therein graue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Justice which is God himselfe is free and without rewards to be ministered. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and do bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehazi the seruant to Elizeus, whose greedy takings turned himselfe to utter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungry he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he disdaind. He vsurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certaine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did interminge and conioine the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by his aduancement to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgot the same: for he was slacke allowaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine seruice, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and prayer. The likelihoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confisecat to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lath & poyse all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberallie bestow that vpon a roister or a soldier, which ought to haue bene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & forecasting wit, and thereby foreseeing what things might or were like to ensue, he would accordingly order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preuenting thereof: notwithstanding manie times the e-

uent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would forgett thereof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and young yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarcelie awake anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper too fast, or whether they had euill deserued of him, he hated them; & it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prosperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there vniquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enimitie: where courtlesse, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certeine it is, there was no good agreement, neither betwene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselves.

But at length, when all his enemies and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed; and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendment of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memoize, that if he had once sene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatsoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memoize of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a maner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bene chosen of God, and bene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his lawes, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much brieftie, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to declare, that hauing in few words made my entrie; or ther writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthy an historie. And therefore leauing the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we digressed.

(1) The words are *Oculis glaucis*: which some doe English to be greie eyes, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some doe English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eye, which is commonlie a signe or an argument of a man which will be sone warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram irascentis*, which is to saie, grim looking eyes disposed to anger: which eyes were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the fifth chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliza or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed awaie. But Gehazi the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedy and a covetous



uctous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretly he ran after the Syrian; and overtaking him, did aske of him in his masters name a talent of silver, & certeine garments: which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no sooner come home, but that his coustounesse was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman; which cloue vnto him as white as the snow.

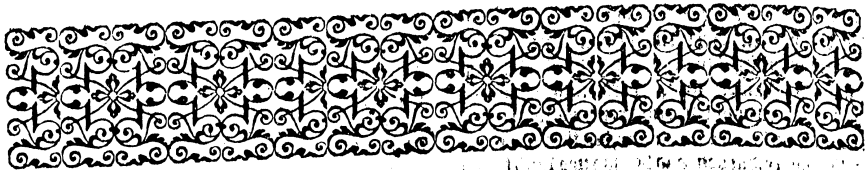
(3) The king married Cleonor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married to Lewis the eight and king of France, but diuorced from him for incontinence of blood) and after that he had continued with his sundrie yeares, and receiued by his six sonnes and thre daughters, he fell in loue with a yong wench named Rosamund, and then wared wearie of his wife. And she to be atycked, did not onelie in continuance of time and the means to find out this Rosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for his safe keeping at Woodstocke, where when the queen had found him, Rosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of his sonnes who were noble & valliant gentlemen, caused warres to be stirred and raised against the king to his great inquietnesse: and this is one of the mariages of which this author meaneth. The other was of his son named Henrie, whom he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwene him and Lewis the eight then French king, he married his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yeeres of age, and thinking it too long yer he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the queene his mother intised, and taking his part, he fled to the French king his father in law; and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who ioined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and inquietnesse.

(4) There is not a moze commendable & moze ne-

cessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quick and good memorie: for by it knowledge both increase and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the moze the gouernour excelleth, the moze prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue bene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Spithridates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and twentie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectlie: and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cineas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboute one whole daie, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Julius Cesar and Adrianus the emperours of Rome were of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellentie learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies of for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke vp and downe among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were euer wont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be meet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certeine that he him selfe was of an excellent god memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.





# SYLVESTER GIRAL-

## dus Cambrensis, his second

### booke of the vaticinall historie of

### the Conquest of Ireland.

The Proheme of the author.



*W*E haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breefelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speeches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set forth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vnquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring forth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a trauellder; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set forth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.





# THE SECOND BOOKE

## of the Conquest of Ireland.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ire-  
land, and is made generall of the land, and  
Reimond is ioined in com-  
mission with him.

Chap. 1.



**R**icke Richard, be-  
ing now returned  
into Ireland, the  
people there being  
aduertised of the  
great troubles which  
were beyond the  
seas, they being a  
people constant on-  
ly in inconstancie,  
firme in wauering  
and faithfull in un-  
truths; these I say  
and all the princes of that land, the earle at his com-  
ming found to be reuolted and to become rebels.  
For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle  
then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length hauing  
spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had  
brought ouer with him, his soldiours who were vnder  
the guiding of Heruete being then constable, lacked  
their wages and were vnpaid: and by reason of the  
emulation betwene Heruete and Reimond, the ser-  
uice and exploits to be don against the Irishie was  
verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they  
wanted such prieses and spoiles of neat and cattell  
as they were wont to haue for their vittels. The  
souldiours in this distresse, wanting both monie for  
their wages and vittels for their food, assembled  
themselves and went vnto the earle, vnto whome  
with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vntlesse  
he would make and appoint Reimond to be their  
capteine againe, they would without all doubt for-  
sake him, and would either returne home againe, or  
(that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the  
enimies.

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the cap-  
teine, forthwith hauing mustered his souldiers, he  
made a rode or iourneie into Mphassa vpon the re-  
bels there, where he took great prieses, and were well  
recovered as well in horse as in armor. From thence  
they marched to Lismore, where when they had spo-  
iled both the towne and countrie, they returned with  
great booties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by  
the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where  
they found thirteene botes latelie come from Wa-  
terford, as also others of other places; all these they  
laded with their prieses, minding to haue passed by  
water vnto Waterford. But tarrying there for a  
wind, the men of Corke, who had heard of their do-  
ings, and being but sixteene miles from them, doe pre-

pare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and  
doe well man and furnish them, being wholie deter-  
mined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue  
him the ouerthrow; which they did: betwene whom  
was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onset  
with stones and spaths, & the other defending them-  
selues with bowes and weapons. In the end the men  
of Corke were ouercome, and their capteine named  
Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie  
young gentleman named Philip Welsh. And then  
Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall  
of that naue, being well increased and laden with  
great prieses, sailed with great triumph to the citie  
of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this  
fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he  
came in all hast and marched towards them, taking  
his waie by the sea side, hauing in his companie  
twentie gentlemen, and threescore horsemen. And  
by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond  
Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was conning  
with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the  
men of Corke where they fought together: but in the  
end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was ouer-  
throwne; and then Reimond hauing pried and taken  
about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and  
came to Waterford. About this time also as they  
marched homewards, certaine Irishmen in those  
parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when  
the prieses and cattell passed by, they issued out,  
toke and carried abate certaine of the cattell in-  
to the woods, wherevpon the crye was vp, and came  
as farre as Waterford. Wherevpon the souldiers  
and most part of the garrison issued out, among whom  
Mellerius was the best and most forward. For he  
being come to the woods, and hauing in his compa-  
nie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse,  
and aduentured in the woods, following the Irish-  
men (by the abetting of the souldier who was with  
him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods:  
where he was so farre entered, that he was in dan-  
ger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to  
retire was there taken, killed and hewed in pices.  
Mellerius then seeing himselfe to be traitored  
round about with the enimies, and he in the like pe-  
rill as the other was, because he alone against a thou-  
sand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe  
himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the o-  
ther, like a valiant gentleman draweth his sword,  
and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their  
teeth maketh waie through them. And such as set vpon  
him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this  
man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoul-  
der of another, & he escaped throughout them with-  
out anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, sauing  
that he brought two darts in his shield, and three in  
his horse.

The

The overthrow given by the Irishmen against the souldiers which came from Dublin; and what the Ostomons were, of whom mention is made here and elsewhere.

## Chap. 2.

**W**hen these things were thus done, & the souldiers well refreshed by the booties and preies taken upon the water and the land, Reimond being advertised that his father William Fitzgerald was dead, he took shipping and passed over into Wales, there to take seisen, and to enter into the land descended unto him. And in his absence Herrie was againe made lieutenant of the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking to do some service and notable exploit, bringeth the earle unto Casthill; and for their better strength and further helpe, sent his commandement unto Dublin, that the souldiers there should come and meet them; who according came forth; and in the iourneie they passed thorough Droie, where on a certeine night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing understanding by his priuie espials of their coming, suddenly and vnwares herie earle in the morning with a great force and companie scale upon them, and slue of them foure gentlemen which were captiues, and foure hundred (1) Ostomen in this soe discomfort.

The earle as soon as he heard hereof, with great sorrow & heauinesse returned unto Waterford. By means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euery place toke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation with one consent and agreement rose vp against the Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besieged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Waterford, and from whence he moued not. But Rothorike Donor prince of Connagh, comming and passing ouer the river of Shennin, thinking now to recover all apeth, inuadeth the same with sword and fire, and spoileth, burneth, and destroiethe the same, & all the whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin, leauing no castell standing or vnderstroied.

(1) These Ostomen were not Irishmen, but yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they came first out of Pozwale, and were called Ostomen, that is to saie Easterlings, or Easterne men, because that countrie lieth East in respect of England and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons and Romans; but whatsoeuer they were, they were merchants and vsed the trade of merchandise, and in peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there being landed, they found such fauour with the Irishrie; that they licenced them to build haven townes wherein they might dwell & vse their traffike. These men builded the ancientest and most part of the cities and townes upon or nere the sea side within that land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limerike, and others. And albeit they in proesse of time grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie did build townes and castels: yet they durst not to dwell among the Irish people, but still continued and kept themselves within their owne townes and forts, and thereof they are and were called since townesmen. And of them were these, being the inhabitants of Dublin, which came to meet the earle, and were thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ireland, and how he married Basilia the sister vnto the earle.

## Chap. 3.

**T**he earle then seeing himselfe to be not in great distresse, and in a narrow strait, taketh aduise with his friends and counselors what were best to be done. At length, as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Reimond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As soon as you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you can to come auaile, and bring with you all the helpe and force that you can make: and then according to your owne will and desire, you shall assuredlie and immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie my sister Basilia. Reimond, as soon as he had read these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and thought it long yet he could be gone; not onlie in respect of the faire labie, whom he had long wooed, loved, and desired; but also that he might helpe and succour his lord and master in this distresse and necessitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordingly, and by means of friendship and otherwise, he had gotten thirtie lustie young gentlemen of his owne cousins and kindred, and one hundred horsemen; as also thre hundred footmen and bowmen of the best and chosen men in all Wales: all which were in a readinesse to go with him. And as soon as the shipping for them was readie, and the wind seruing, he and his cousin Speilerius, with all the said companie toke the seas, and shortly after arrived in twentie barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the townesmen of Waterford, being in a verie great rage and furie against the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and determined to haue killed them all wheresoeuer they could find them. But when they saw these barks comming in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which to them were vnkowne, they were astonished at their so sudden comming, and their deuises were dashed. Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his companie; and when all things were quieted and appeased, he & the earle went from thence vnto Waterford, with all their force and strength, leauing behind one (2) Percell or Purcell his lieutenant at Waterford. But he verie hostile minding to follow after the earle, toke a boat, and as he passed ouer the river of the Suer, the maister of the boat and his companie which were townesmen of Waterford, slue this Purcell, and those few whom he had then attending vpon him. Which murder when they had thus done, they returned to the citie, and there without all pittie or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child; but slue as manie as they could find in the streets, houses, or any other places. Howbeit the citie it selfe was safelie kept by such as were then in Reimonds tower, who drave the traitors out of the citie, as also in the end compelled them to yeld and submit themselves, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie obtained, both with an euill credit and harder conditions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made vnto him, and he languishing untill the same were performed, would not depart from out of Waterford, untill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch and bring his loue Basilia to (4) Waterford to be married vnto him. Which being done, and he married, they spent all that daie and night in feasting & pastimes. And as they were in their most iollitie, newes was brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of Connagh had destroied, wasted, & spoiled all apeth, and was entred into the borders of Dublin. Whereupon

upon  
and giu  
all his  
cheth  
before  
force, b  
trie o  
to his  
couere  
causeth  
downe  
as all  
speth,  
stable,  
leau  
Reim  
their si  
seare o

(1)  
ample  
point:  
What  
being  
ford, &  
wife  
terfor  
earle  
der, &  
land  
ance  
of the

(2)  
this n  
Price  
to be  
in thi  
retwa  
rema  
of W

(3)  
blin,  
ford  
after  
forth  
perla  
thith  
mon  
die  
entir  
mar

**Q**

lain  
lain  
and  
mar  
get  
der  
lain  
W  
such  
by b  
mar  
on a  
the

upon Reimond on the next morrow, setting apart  
and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustreth  
all his soldiors, and without anie delaiengs mar-  
cheth towards the enemies. But Rothorike who had  
before tried his ballantnesse, and experimented his  
force, hearing of his comming, and not minding to  
trie or abide the same, retireth backe, and getteth him  
to his owne home and countrie. Then Reimond re-  
couereth againe all those countries, and forthwith  
causeth all the forts and castels then before pulled  
downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repared,  
as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlences in  
Meth, of which Hugh Trell was before the con-  
stable, and for want of rescue and helpe compelled to  
leauie and forsake them. And thus by the means of  
Reimond, all things being recovered and restored to  
their former and pristine estate, the whole land for  
feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such booke and ex-  
amples as I haue, and which I do follow in this  
point: some writing that Reimond did not land at  
Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there  
being appeased, he went from thence vnto Water-  
ford, and brought the earle vnto Wexford. Some  
write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Wa-  
terford, and not at Wexford: but hauing saluted the  
earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in or-  
der, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer  
land vnto Wexford. Although there be some vari-  
ance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance  
of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of  
this name; some write Fricellus, and some write  
Pricellus, and some Pircellus, or Purcell; it is like  
to be Purcell, for they of that name were seruitors  
in this conquest, and for their good seruice they were  
rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet  
remaining about or nere the citie, and in the countie  
of Waterford.

(3) It is certaine that this Basilia abode at Du-  
blin, but whether she were there married or at Wex-  
ford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Reimond  
after that he had met and also saluted the earle, they  
forthwith hearing the countries in Leinster, and es-  
peciallie about Dublin to be in an vppore, marched  
thither straitwaie without anie staie. And there Re-  
imond as a lustie soldior in his armor married the la-  
die Basilia, and they issued with aduantage vpon the  
enemie. But the writer of best credit saith that the  
marriage was at Wexford.

### The secret practise of Herucie a- gainst Reimond.

#### Chap. 4.

**W**hen Herucie seeing the honoz and credit  
of Reimond daylie to increase more & more,  
and he much græued therewith, deuileth all  
the means he can how to stop and hinder the  
same: and forsomuch as he could not compasse the  
same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretlie,  
and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to  
marrie the ladie Helia, daughter to Maurice Fitz-  
gerald, and consine germane to Reimond; that vnder  
the colour of this new affinitie, aliance, and vni-  
fained friendship he might take Reimond in a trip.  
Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no  
such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he  
by his earnest sute obtaineth this gentlewoman, and  
marrieth hir. And Reimond also to make friendship  
on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline  
the earls daughter was married to William eldest

son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitz-  
gerald himselfe, who was latlie come out of Wales,  
there was giuen the halfe cantred of Mhelan, which  
he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of  
Guindoloke: and Spellerius because he was the bet-  
ter marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the can-  
tred of land which was nearest towards Dublin, and  
which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans,  
was now bestowed vpon the two Herfords.

### The obtaining of the priuilege at Rome.

#### Chap. 5.

**I**n this meane time the king, though he  
were in great troubles, & much inquieted  
with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of  
his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders  
made and deuised at the counsell of Cashill, for the  
redresse and reformation of the filthy and loose life of  
the Irishie. And thereupon sent his ambassadozs  
vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from  
whom he obtained certeine priuileges, and vnder his  
authoritie; namelie, that he should be lord ouer all  
the realme of Ireland; and by his power and autho-  
ritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian  
faith, after the maner and order of the church of En-  
gland. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ire-  
land by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but  
afterwards abbat of Spalmeburie, and William  
Fitzaldelme. And then being at Waterford, they  
caused an assemblee and a synod to be had of all the  
bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the  
open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege  
was openlie read and published: as also one other  
priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian  
an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of  
Salisbury, who was made bishop of Barnocens at  
Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king  
for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one  
gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid  
vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure  
of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to  
insert. And concerning the first, these are the words  
thereof.

Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of  
God, to his most deere sonne in Christ the noble king  
of England sendeth greeting, and the apostolike be-  
nediction. Your excellencie hath bene verie care-  
full and studious how you might enlarge the church  
of God here in earth, and increase the number of his  
saints and cleas in heauen: in that as a good catho-  
like king, you haue and do by all meanes laboz and  
travell to enlarge and increase Gods church, by teach-  
ing the ignorant people the true and christian religi-  
on, and in abolishing and rooting vp the weeds of sin  
and wickednesse: and therein you haue and do craue  
for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the a-  
postolike see, wherein the more speedlie and discret-  
lie you do proceed, the better successe we hope God  
will send. For all they which of a feruent zeale, and  
loue in religion, do begin and enterprisse anie such  
thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and pro-  
perous successe. And as for Ireland and all other Is-  
lands where Christ is knowen, and the christian reli-  
gion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excel-  
lencie well knoweth, they do all apperfeine and be-  
long to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of  
Rome. And we are so much the more redie, desirous,  
& willing to sowe the acceptable seed of Gods word,  
because we know the same in the latter daie will be  
most seuerelie required at our hands. You haue  
(our we bequeath in Christ) aduertised and signified

Two priuile-  
ges sent from  
Rome to the  
king of Eng-  
land.



unto us, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient unto law, and under your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yeeld and paie pærelie out of euerie house a pærelie pension of one penie unto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & keepe the rites of those churches whole and inuiolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your godlie disposition & commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and assent unto this your petition: and do grant that you for the dilating of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of maners, planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you do enter to possesse that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom what forner shall be for the honor of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we do stricte charge and require that all the people of that land do with all humblenesse, dutifulnesse, and honor receiue and accept you as their liege lord and soueraigne, referring and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inuolably preferred; as also the pærelie pension of the Peter pence out of euerie house, which we require to be truly answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your godlie purpose to effect, inuenom to trauell to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, maners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things to be done, that by any means shall or may be to Gods honor, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an euermouring life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

Peter pence.

The second priuilege.

Alexander the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his dearely beloued son the noble king of England sendeth greeting, grace, and the apostolike benediction. Forasmuch as things giuen and granted vpon good reasons by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs appertaining, and lately giuen by Adrian our predecessor; we following his steps do in like manner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: referring and sending to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the pærelie pension of one penie out of euerie house as well in England as in Ireland. Prouided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your means be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conuersation; that as in manie so in maners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the profession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same.

### The titles of the kings of England unto Ireland.

Chap. 6.

**L**et then the enuious & ignorant cease and giue ouer to quarrell, and anouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by five manner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to anouch and defend the same, as in our to

pographie is declared. First it is evident and apparent by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Welin king of Brittain, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Isles of the Orkades a naute (1) of a certeine nation of people, named Baldenises, now Balons, and those he sent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certeine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewise the same histories do plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Brittain, had made of the Irish kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & keeping his court at Westchester, Gillomarus king of monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselves before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Balon, the chiefe citie in Wilsaie. And forsomuch as men, be they neuer so free, yet they may renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselves into subiection: so it is apparent that the princes of Ireland did frelie, and of their owne accord, submit & yeeld themselves to king Henry of England, & swoore vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a naturall lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afrayed to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euerie man is at his owne choise and libertie how to contract and bargain with any one, but the same once made he can not slack nor swarue from it. And finally the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certeine prerogative and title requireth & claimeth all Islands, because by him and by him and by his means they were first reduced and recovered to the christian faith; he I saie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Welin made a voyage into Denmarke, there to appeale the people, who were then in rebellion against him: and hauing prevailed and overcome them, he in his returning homewards by the Isles of the Orkades: there met him a fleet of a naute of thirtie or (as some saie) thre score sailles of men and women lately come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Baldenises, whereof Balon was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomew, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their troubles, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would become his subiects. Which their request the king granted, and taking their oath of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Balon is the metropole, which is now part of Wilsaie, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Brittain, now called England.

### The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 7.

**I**n the meane while, Donald O Binn prince of Limerike waxed verie insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oath made to the king, began & did withdraw his fealtie and seruice. Wherevpon Keimond

muster  
best an  
tie and  
three h  
well a  
ched to  
they c  
roneth  
the far  
passio  
who w  
rous t  
grete  
to affa  
so nar  
wisse  
unto  
solida  
verie  
the th  
re pe  
spurr  
being  
the in  
the co  
his he  
red th  
his co  
that  
uing  
15  
ouer  
being  
they  
(who  
with  
of so  
lie al  
but  
the  
neith  
the  
gent  
than  
furt  
chin  
fran  
min  
gali  
a ge  
tlen  
mit  
side  
floy  
to l  
hea  
fro  
the  
the  
of,  
the  
his  
en  
fr  
the  
lie

th  
co  
a  
re

ap. 5, 6, 7

Chap. 7, 8, 9.

mustered his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And hauing tven-  
tie and six gentlemen, three hundred horsemen, and  
three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and  
well appointed, about the kalends of October mar-  
ched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When  
they came thither, the ruler of the shenn, which mu-  
roneth and runneth round about the citie, they found  
the same to be so deepe and stikie, that they could not  
passe ouer the same. But the lustie yong gentlemen  
who were greedy to haue the praeie, but more desir-  
ous to haue the honoz, were in a great agonie and  
griefe, that they were thus abarred from approaching  
to assaile the citie. Whereupon one (1) Dauid Welsh  
so named of his familie and kindred, although other-  
wise a Camber or a Welshman bozne, and nephue  
unto Reimond, who was a lustie and ballant yong  
soldior, and a verie tall man aboue all the rest, was  
verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered  
the time about nothing. Whereupon hauing a grea-  
ter regard to win fame and honoz, than fearing of a-  
nie perill or death, taking his horse and putting his  
spurres to his sides aduentureth the water, which  
being verie stikie and full of stones and rocks was  
the more dangerous: but yet he so wiselie marked  
the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided  
his horse, that he passed the river, and safelie recou-  
ered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to  
his companie, that he had found a foyd: but for all  
that there was neuer a one that would follow, sa-  
uing one Gessreie.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct  
ouer the whole companie, the said Gessreie, his horse  
being caried awaie with the violence of the streame,  
they were both drowned. Which when Speilerius  
(who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret  
with himselfe, partly for that his confine & kinsman  
of so noble an enterprise had so bad a successe: part-  
ly also disdainning that anie should atchieue to honoz  
but himselfe. Whereupon being mounted vpon a lu-  
stie strong horse, setteth spur to his side, and being  
neither dismayed with the stikienesse and danger of  
the water, nor afrated with the mishap fallen to the  
gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlie  
than wiselie aduentureth the river & recouereth the  
further side & banke. The citizens some of them wat-  
ching and meeting him at the waters side, and some  
standing vpon the towne wals fast by the river side,  
minding and meaning to haue driuen him backe a-  
gaine, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stones  
a good pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gen-  
tleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the  
middle of perills and dangers, his enemies on the one  
side hardlie assailing, and the river on the other side  
stopping and closing him by from all rescue, standeth  
to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his  
head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe  
from his enemies. Whilest they were thus bickering  
there was great shotting and noise on both sides of  
the water. But Reimond being then the generall of  
the field, and in the reuerward, knowing nothing here-  
of, as soone as he heard of it, came in all hast through  
the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw  
his nephue on the other side, to be in the middle of his  
enemies, and like to be vtterlie cast awaie and de-  
stroyed vntill he had some speedie helpe and succour,  
was in a marvellous griefe & agonie, & verie sharp-  
ly crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called, the same being  
the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the  
countrie of Wales, wherein he was bozne. He was  
a worthy gentleman, and of his race there are yet  
remaining manie good and worthy gentlemen, who

are chiefe abiding in the prouince and citie of Wals-  
terford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond  
vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of  
the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 8.

**Y**e worthy men, of nature ballant,  
and whose prowesse we haue well tried,  
come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not  
knowne, and the river hitherto though not  
passable, by our aduentures a foyd is now found  
therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone be-  
fore, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs  
not suffer, nor see so worthy a gentleman, thus for  
our common cause and honoz oppressed, to perish and  
be cast awaie before our eyes and in our sights for  
want of our helpe, and by means of our sluggish-  
nesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor let  
sure serueth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse  
of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gen-  
tleman, & the state of our otone honozs vnder expe-  
dition, & requirereth hast. And euen with these words  
he put spurres to the horse, and aduentureth the ri-  
uer: after whome followed the whole companie, eue-  
rie one striving who might be foremost. And as God  
would they passed all safe ouer, sauing two soldiors  
and one gentleman named Guido, who were drown-  
ed. They were no soner come to land, but that their  
enemies all fled and ran awaie, whome they pursued,  
and in the chase slue a number of them, as also ente-  
red and toke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both  
the citie and the victorie, they recouered their small  
losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great  
honoz and fame.

Now reader, which of these three thinkest thou best  
ballant, and best worthy of honoz? Him who first ad-  
uentured the river, and taught the way? Or him who  
seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the ri-  
uer, and the multitude of the enemies, did yet (not  
fearing death nor perill) aduenture himselfe in the  
middle of his enemies? Or him who baselie setting all  
feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his host to  
saue the friend, and to aduenture vpon the enemy?  
And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on  
a tuesday Limerike was first conquered, on a tues-  
daie it was againe recouered, on a tuesday Wals-  
terford was taken, on a tuesday Wexford was  
gotten, and on a tuesday Dublin was wonne. And  
these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a  
set match, but euen of a common course of fortune,  
or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether  
against reason, that martiall affaires should haue  
good successe vpon such his date.

A note con-  
cerning tues-  
daie of the  
daie of Wals-  
terford.

The description of Reimond.

Chap. 9.

**R**eimond was big bodied and broad  
set, of stature somewhat more than meane,  
his haire yellow and curled, his eyes big,  
greie, and round; his nose somewhat high,  
his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie.  
And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet  
by reason of a certaine liuelinesse which was in him,  
he couered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a  
blemish in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of  
his mind. He had such a speciall care of his men and  
soldiors, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen,  
and in his trauell that waie he watchen manie whole  
nights, ranging and walking abroad in the campe.  
And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he

C. j.

would

would neuer or verie seldome late violent hands  
byon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his  
gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnadvised-  
lie ouerthrowne himselfe, & strated out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being no-  
thing delicate in his fare, nor curious of his apparell.  
He could awake with all weathers, both hot and cold;  
and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient,  
& could verie well rule his affections. He was more  
desirous to do good to such as he gouerned, than to be  
glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew  
himselfe more like to be a seruant than a master. Fi-  
nallie and to conclude, he was a verie liberrall, wise,  
gentle, and a circumspect man. And albe it he were  
a verie ballant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in  
all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wise-  
dome & prouidence. A man doubtes in both respects  
much to be praised and commended: hauing in him  
what sooner appertained to a ballant soldior, but ex-  
celling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

### The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

**M**eilerius was a man of a broome hew  
and complexion, his eyes blacke, his loke  
grim, and his countenance slowe & sharpe,  
and of a meane stature; his bodie for the  
bignesse verie strong, broad breasted, & he was small  
bellied. His armes and other lims more sinewous  
than fleshie, a stout and a ballant gentleman he was  
and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or  
enterpryse which were either to be done by one alone,  
or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the  
field, and the last that would depart from the same.  
In all seruices he would either haue the garland or  
die in the place, and so vnpatient he was in all ex-  
ploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in  
the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to  
haue honoz, that to attaine thereunto, there was no  
means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue  
the same either in death or in life: for if he could not  
haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng.  
And verie both he and Keimond haue ben worthe  
of too much praise and commendation, if they had  
bene lesse ambitious of wooldie honozs, and more  
carefull of Christs church, and deuout in christian  
religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might  
haue bene preserved and kept safe and sound: and  
also in consideration of their so manie conquests  
and blonde victories, and of the spilling of so much  
innocent blood, and murdering of so manie christian  
people, they had bene thankfull to God, and liberal-  
lie contributed some good portion for the furtherance  
of his church and religion. But what shall I saie: It  
is not so strange but much more to be lamented, that  
this vnthankfulnesse euen from our first comming  
into this land, untill these presents, this hath bene  
the generall and common fault of all our men.

### The commendation and praise of Ro- bert Fitzstephans, and of his cousins.

Chap. 11.

**W**hat shall we speake or saie, how well  
Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue  
deferued: What of Maurice Fitzgerald:  
What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a  
man verie honest and ballant, whose worthe com-  
mendations by the premises are to be knowne:  
What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephew vnto  
Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer  
with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice  
deferueth to be the chiefe and first: What shall we

saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Miles:  
rus, who if he had not so sone bene dead and cut, he  
would doubtlesse haue bene nothing behind his bro-  
ther: What shall we speake of Keimond of Bantune  
& of Robert Barrie the yonger, they both were verie  
worthe, tall, handsome, and worthe men: What also  
shall be said of Keimond Fitzhugh, who although he  
were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & pru-  
dence not to be forgotten: These three lastlie spoken  
of for their ballantnesse and prouesse done in the  
parties of Desmond, deserue great honoz and com-  
mendation, and great is the pittie that through too  
much hardinesse their daies were so shortned, and  
their time so cut off: What did also a number of our  
gentlemen of the same their kindred & consenage de-  
serue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such  
a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hun-  
dred tongues, a hundred mouthes, and so manie vo-  
ces of prou; yet could I not utter and at full de-  
clare their wortheinesse and deserts. A kindred, a  
nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the  
Troians by a naturall disposition thou art ballant,  
of the french nation thou art most expert and skil-  
full of armes and chualrie. A worthe nation and  
kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to  
haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had  
not maligned at thy wortheinesse. Well then Kei-  
mond had taken order for the keeping of the citie,  
and had well vittelled the same, he left therein a gar-  
rison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hun-  
dred horsemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer  
whome he appointed Miles of S. Davids his cosine  
to be leutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he  
safelie returned into the borders of Leinster. But for  
the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute  
vertue. For Heruic of Mount Maurice, notwith-  
standing by meanes of the late affinitie he were  
thought to be a good friend, yet could he not forget  
his old malicious mind and wicked desires: for still  
he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers  
and letters to the king of England, and full vntrulie  
did aduertise the state, euents, and successe of all  
things, affirming that Keimond contrarie to the  
kings honoz and his owne allegiance, had determi-  
ned to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe  
not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole  
land of Ireland. And to make this the more proba-  
ble, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertiseth that  
Keimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the  
purpose; and had sworne the whole armie to obserue  
certaine articles by him prescribed, to the great pre-  
iudice of the king. Which his aduertisement being in-  
terlined with manie good words, the king so credited  
the same, that he beleaued it to be most true: for as it  
is well sene, a little suspicion of an iniurie done or  
offered to be done vnto a prince, doth more sticke  
in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices  
before done. The king therefore after the winter fol-  
lowing, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message  
to Ireland; namelie Robert Potwe, Albert of Her-  
loter or Herford, William Bendeger, and Adam of  
Cernemie: of which, two of them to come awate and  
to bring Keimond with them, and the other to tarry  
and remaine behind with the earle.

### The description of Heruic.

Chap. 12.

**W**e haue of others, so let vs also now  
make and set forth the description of Heruic.  
He was of stature a tall and a comelie man,  
his eyes graie and somewhat big, amiable of  
face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man,  
hauing a long and a round necke. his shoulders  
some,

some as at  
he was by  
same bein  
dable, his  
highes, le  
an swerab  
rent. As  
so on the c  
were cor  
how he tw  
ward to p  
sooner lik  
dispositio  
no: adu  
Besides,  
and a dou  
vnconfor  
man and  
milke an  
poison. I  
all things  
suddenli  
fall, that  
was som  
perience  
in fran  
that he b  
in proue  
honoz, r  
worship  
words th

Tl

Q

wanted  
fore the  
garlillo  
prince  
bont w  
they ha  
at thei  
else pro  
fore rei  
ed and  
sife for  
could t  
all his  
awate  
lie der  
vnles  
Wher  
gers t  
length  
take t  
yet at  
men,  
forth  
gentl  
bund  
don  
serue  
and c  
him t  
and t  
was  
thou  
by m  
mak

so neaby at low, his armes and hands somthing long, he was broad breasted, but small in waste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighs, legs, and feet being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferant. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conversation were corrupt & disordered. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthie actions, what soeuer liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbore neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a proude and an enuious accuser, and a double man, vncertaine, baينه, and altogether vnconstant, sauing in inconstancie; a verie subtil man and a deceitfull: vnder his tong he had both milke and honte, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desire; and suddenly fortune turning hie wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recover the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good solior, and had good experience in the seats of wars, after the manner vsed in France; but he was so suddenly altered & changed, that he became more skilfull in malice than valiant in prowesse, more full of deceit than renowned in honor, more puffed up in pride than endowd with wisdome, more hastie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

The succouring of the garrison  
at Limerike.

Chap. 13.

Reimond hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordinglie, and nothing wanted thereunto but onlie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittells which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their comming thither, as also what so euer was else provided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie soie & pensif for these newes, and deuising all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so greued for the going awaie and departure of Reimond, that they vtterlie denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Reimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they toke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be done in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Reimond should take the enterprize in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yielded himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred halismen, & three hundred archers, besides three score of Kencile, and Donold of Ossorie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege, and was comming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no

housmen could either enter or passe through the same.

The oration of Donold to his soldiers,  
the reuerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being now almost come to the place where his enemies late, diuided his host or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or aduerture. Whereupon Donold prince of Ossorie, who was a mostall enemy to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit should be done; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in good arate, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were pikemen, valiant and couragions: he also to encourage them, to shew themselves like valiant men, vseth and maketh these speeches vnto them. For worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onset vpon your enemies, which if you doe after your old and accustomed manner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our spars, and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be ouerthowne and haue the worse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enemies, and take part with them. Therefore be of good courages, and looke well to your selues, and consider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be diuened to flee, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs yee may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to sticke to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the backs of them who shall flee and run awaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst yee be conquerors. Pelletus who had the foreward, hearing these words, being warmed with the same, suddenly like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enemies, whereby the passe was recovered and the enemies overcome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesdaie. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesdaie, so was the second also, where for a time they staid, and restored all things by the enemies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enemies finding themselves to be too weak, and that it was better to bow than to breake, practised to haue a parlee and a communication with Reimond: & in the end the messengers of Rothorike king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parlee was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorike of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Sheen, as far as the great lough of Dirigid, & there staid. And Donold not far from thence kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Reimond chose a place not far from Killaloe, which is about seauentene miles from Limerike, and in the middle betwene them both. The parlee betwene these continued a pretie while, but in the end both kings submitted & yielded themselves, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be true from thenceforth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.

These things thus done and concluded, Reimond returneth in great triumph and solitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermot Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praiesing and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being

C.ij.

being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormon Mechan, who went about to drine and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him good intertainment both for himselfe and for his souldiors for the same. Keimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honoz, taketh aduise of his friends and companions; and by all their consents, the sojorne towards Corke was liked. Whereupon Keimond displayed his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great prizes and booties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittellling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermont the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Keimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recovered, who otherwise had bene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Cormach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vnjustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, toke his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

## The death of the earle

*Strangbow.*

Chap. 15.

**W**hen these things were thus aduising in Desimond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Keimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Keimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar friend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Keimond his most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia wisheth health as to his selfe. Know yee my dère lord that my great cheetoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if yee haue any care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come auaie with all speed. Keimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he late verie sicke at Dublin before his comming auaie from thence. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Keimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Keimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie sorrie and much grieved with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to any bodie, sauing to a few wisse and discret men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that forsomuch as the earle was dead, and that Keimond also was to depart auaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie enemies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thence into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the townes and forts vpon the sea coasts. Where Keimond full much against his will yielded to this their aduise and counsell, being much grieved that hauing taken paines to recover the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince

of Thomond, being the kings baron & sworne subject, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also toke a corporall oath, and was solemnlie sworne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

Then Keimond and all his companie departed and went auaie: but they had not so longe passed ouer the one end of the bridge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small griefe of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen thenceforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiously did perture themselves. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprize in the giuing of the first aduerture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recovering thereof againe: but it was onelie wisedome, when they left and forsooke it. Keimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserved vntill Keimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruices and obsequies.

## The comming of William Fitzaldelme and others ouer into Ireland.

Chap. 16.

**T**hese things thus done, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and chaunces were to take new aduises, and hauing througheie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Keimond should tarie behind, and keepe the countrie in good state and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next westervlie wind then following, they toke shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repairs vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his household, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Giles Cogan, who had noble serued him in his wars two yeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These assone as they were arrived, and come to land, and Keimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assembleth his companie and souldiors, which was a companie well besene, and marcheth towards Waterford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louingly saluted and embraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yielded and deliuered vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the citie and townes, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so solie and

The ladie  
Basilia  
letter to her husband  
Keimond.

2 monstrous  
man brought  
vpon a row.

lustie:  
king:  
mond  
ted by  
well i  
their  
by & i  
enue  
secret  
and q  
so can  
follow  
consp  
lerius  
other  
waite  
milie  
In  
most,  
saues  
but id  
ned c  
count  
they  
great  
hono;  
they c  
out.  
their  
euer  
no;  
sed th  
Gera  
safeti  
go ba  
which  
enue  
sed th  
to the  
state  
stab  
in sul  
and t  
liant  
yet y  
hono  
teine  
selue  
confi  
mali  
your  
go a  
reuel  
for b  
or in  
relo  
and  
or by  
pract  
relo  
publ  
And  
ouer  
and  
men  
in th  
uere  
long  
flan  
mo;  
Al  
mo;  
cou;  
wisc



lustie a companie about Keimond, and well mar-  
 ling also Peterlus, and others the nephues of Kei-  
 mond, about the number of thirtie persons, moun-  
 ted vpon their horses, verie lustie and braue, and  
 well besene in like armoz, with their shields about  
 their necks, and their stauies in their hands; coursing  
 by & downe after their maner about the fields. He  
 enuied thereat, and turning backe to his men, said  
 secretlie vnto them; I will shortly cut off this pride,  
 and quail this brauerie. Which in the end it parlie  
 so came to passe, for both he and all the rest which  
 followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret  
 conspiracie, enuie and maligne at Keimond, Peter-  
 lus, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all  
 other of their race and kindred. For this was al-  
 waies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and fa-  
 milie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the fore-  
 most, and had in best ppyce, and in all martiall af-  
 faires they were the best and most valiant men: 20  
 but when there was no such seruice in hand, and no  
 need of them, then were they contemned and no ac-  
 count was made of them; but by a secret malice  
 they were abused, relected and refused. And albeit  
 great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so  
 honorable and great; that by no meanes, so what  
 they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted  
 out. For euen at this date, such good successe hath  
 their noble beginnings had, that their offspring hath  
 euer since (1) continued in that land, in much ho-  
 nor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who per-  
 sed the force of the enemies in that land? Euen the  
 Geraldines. Who did best keepe & prefer the land in  
 safetie: The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to  
 go backe & be afraid: The Geraldines. Who be they  
 which for their god deserts are most maligned and  
 enuied at: The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had plea-  
 sed the pynce to haue considered of them, according  
 to their deserts and worthinesse; no doubt the whole  
 state of Ireland long yee this had bene quieted and  
 established. But causelesse were they alwaies had  
 in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie:  
 and they put in trust, as in whome was neither va-  
 liantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But  
 yet ye worthie and noble men, who for to attaine to  
 honor, haue not bene afraid of death; and for to ob-  
 teine fame and renowne, haue not esteemed your  
 felues; be not dismayd, though ye be vncourteouslie  
 considered, and without your deserts disdained and  
 maligned at: but go ye on wards, and proceed in  
 your wonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can  
 go according to worthinesse, I shall be happie, and  
 recetue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame:  
 for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life  
 or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust  
 reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice  
 and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king,  
 or by meanes of other mens secret and enuious  
 practises, haue not bene hitherto considered nor  
 rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to  
 publish, and in my writings to remember the same.  
 And therefore thinke not now, neither doe you giue  
 ouer to labor and trauell from daie to daie to grow  
 and increase in honor, fame and renowne. For the  
 memorie thereof (saie surpassing all the treasures  
 in the world) for a time through malice maie be co-  
 uered, but neuer suppressed nor extind: but as fire  
 long hid, shall in the end breake out into great  
 flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall me-  
 morie.

About this time was borne in Wendelocke a  
 monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that  
 countrie vpon a colv. a vice then to common in that  
 wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all

the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of  
 the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the  
 hooves of an ore, his head was all bald, sauing a few  
 small & thin beares here and there: his eyes great,  
 round and blacke, like an ore; nose he had none but  
 onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie bel-  
 lowed like a colv. This monster did daillie resort vnto  
 the house of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner  
 times, and such meate as was giuen him he would  
 take in his hooves, and put to his mouth, and so fed  
 himselfe, &c: but to returne to the matter. William  
 Fitzalbelme, being now in high authoritie, and ha-  
 ving the gouernement and charge of the land in his  
 hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and vieweth  
 all the townes, forts and castles that waies: but for  
 the inner countrie, the mountaines and hills vpon  
 the maine land, and bordering vpon the Irishie, he  
 neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet mis-  
 ked not the wealth and riches thereof. For being a ve-  
 rie greedie and a couetous man, and expectallie hun-  
 grie to haue gold and treasure, whereof was good  
 store in that land, he greedilie scraped and scratched  
 together whatsoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Maurice (2) Fitzgerald in the ha-  
 lends of September died at Wexford, whose death  
 was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the  
 countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant  
 man, & who for his constancie, truth, courtesie & lone  
 left not his like behind. After his death, William  
 Fitzalbelme sent for the sonnes of the said Maurice,  
 and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, untill  
 by one means or other he had craftilie gotten from  
 them the castell of Gwendoke. Howbeit afterwards  
 he gaue them Fernes in exchange: which albeit it  
 were in the middle of their enemies, yet like lustie  
 and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a  
 strong castell, which they kept & inhabited manie all  
 their enemies. Walter Almane, so called in name,  
 and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an  
 Almane, being nephue to William Fitzalbelme,  
 was made seneeschall of Wexford; who nothing de-  
 generated from the maners & condicions of his un-  
 cle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his  
 actions & doings, being couetous, prond, malicious  
 and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie seene, that  
 there is none lightlie worse, than when a beggerlie  
 rascall from nothing, and from a base estate, is ad-  
 uanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a  
 one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things,  
 suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be la-  
 full for him to doe, vseth all extremities at his will  
 and pleasure. There cannot be (I saie) a worse beast,  
 than when a cruell rascall and prond begger is raised  
 to estate, and made a ruler ouer his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with  
 Morogh pynce of Kencle, and by him being corrup-  
 ted with great bribes, did what he could to procure  
 the utter destruction of Keimond, and all his fore-  
 said colins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution  
 of their practises, the foresaid William first toke a  
 waie from Keimond all his lands about Dublin,  
 and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters  
 of commandement from the king, to resseue vnto  
 Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Oph-  
 lan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the  
 execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and  
 assigned vnto them other places which were further  
 off and remoted; and the same the more perillous, be-  
 cause they were in the middle of the enemies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen  
 euer since haue continued in this land of Ireland,  
 and did daillie grow and increase to much honour:  
 there being at this instant two houses advanced to  
 the

the titles of earledoms, and sundrie to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leaning English government, liked the lose life of that vicious nation, then they brought in coine and luerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diuelly impositions, which hath bene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the overthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monastrie of Greie friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his burfall almost destroyed: there wanting some good and worthy man to restore the same againe. He deserved well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so unkind a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so worthy a knight will not restore so worthy a monument.

### The description of William Fitzaldelme.

Chap. 17.

**T**his Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberall and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtlike, and would giue to anie man much honour and reuerence, yet was the same altogether with wiles and guiles: for vnder honie he gaue venem, and his sugred words were mingled with poison. And as a venomous serpent covered with greene leaues, he with an outward shew of courtlike covered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberall and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancor and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a stinking breath was hid a stinking vapor: outwardlie as meeke as a lambe, but within as wilde as a fox: carieng vnder sweet honie most bitter venem. His words as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadly strokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either spoile or destroye the next daie. A cruell enimie against the weakie and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the wilde and savage, and courteous to the enimie; but extreame to the good subiect, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearefull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull. He was also much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a greedie couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Burkerle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there greatly aduanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgeses called Clanricards, who were the best blood of the foresaid Richard, and these doe yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanricke now liuing.

### How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth Vsher.

Chap. 18.

**I**ohn Courcie, who (as is before said) was ioined in commission with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and manner of his dealings, who as he was cov-

etous, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timorous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the enimie feared him not, and the good subiect loved him not. And considering also that the souldiers and garrison at Dublin, by means of their capteins couetousnesse were vnpaid of their wages, and by reason of his slouth and sluggishnesse the vittels were scant, & none went & scouted anie more abroad as they were wont to get anie booties or preies, he secretlie dealeth with some of them, and by his wise conference, and wittie persuasions, allureth and inleth vnto him euen such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And hauing so gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about three hundred others, he boldlie entred and inuadeth into the prouince of Vsher, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strength of the English nation. And then

was fulfilled the prophesie of Sperlin Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) A white knight sitting vpon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and inuade Vsher.

This Iohn Courcie was somewhat of a browne colour, but therewith somewhat whitish, and at that time he rode vpon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield three painted (1) birds. After that he had passed three daies iourneie through the countrie of Vriell, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Downe, without anie resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enimie and a ghest vnlooked for. And (3) Ddonell then the ruler of that countrie, being astonished and amazed at their so sudden comming, fled awaie. The souldiers which before their comming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starued, hauing now recouered great booties and preies of neat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Milanus, & he toke great pains to intreat & make a peace betwene Ddonell & Iohn de Courcie, viding all the persuasions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yearly tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words auailed nothing. Ddonell seeing that words could little auaille, assemblith all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thousand souldiers, with force inuadeth, & with great courage commeth to enter & beake in to the citie of Downe. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. Iohn Courcie seeing the course and bent of the enimies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enimies; but also their vallant and couragious minds, who were fullie determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their aduersaries, yet they were souldiers vallant, couragious, and of good seruice) to issue out and aduenture the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut vp in a beggarlie ward made with turfes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittels to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and ioined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the boiues a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lances against lances, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skeine: who buckled so lustilie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had bene both vallantlie each man

Prophecie of Celodine fulfilled.

shewed himselfe, and spectallie how John Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword mangled manie a man, killing some, but wounded and maimed manie, would and must needs haue commended him for a right woorthie, noble, and right valiant warriour.

(1) He giueth thre birds as this author saith, which by heralds are thus blasoned. Argent thre griths or geires gules crowned gold: this grith or geire is a kind of an eagle, but such as is rauenous, and feedeth more vpon carren than vpon anie soule of his owne preieng: & for his cowardnesse carieth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Downe is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Ulster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the see of the bishop of that diocesse, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Downe.

(3) The Latine word is *Dunelmus*, which I doe find to be Englished *Downell*, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the prouince of Ulster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

### The commendation of Roger Power, and the victorie of Iohn de Courcie, and of the propheties of Celodine.

Chap. 19.

**I**n this fight there was manie a woorthie man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant acts than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a young man and beardless, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & courageous gentleman; & who grew into such good credit, that afterwards he had the gouernment of the countie about Leishlin, as also in Downe. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie manfullie defending themselves, and none yielding the one to the other. But as the common prouerbe is, be the daie neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at enenlong: so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enimies were slaine in the field, as also vpon the woars of the seas as they were fleeing and running atwaie. Then was fulfilled the old prophetie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who forespeaking of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloushed therein of the Irish people, that the enimies perceiuing them should wade vp to the knees in blood. Which thing came so to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodies they sunke downe by to the hard knees or knifels, and so the blood flouting and lieng vpon the woars, they were said to be therein by to the knees.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a pere stranger, and one come out from other countie, should with a small power come to the citie of Downe, and against the will of the gouernor thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of sundrie battells to be waged, and of the euents thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the said John had, and he esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his doings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a young man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the wals of Waterford, and conquer the same with

the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreover, that the same man should come to Waterford, & from thence to Dublin, where he should enter in without anie great resistance; & all these things (as is apparent) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limerike should be twice left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Helmond had it and gaue it ouer: the second was, when the king had giuen the same to Philip de Buse, for he being brought thither by Fitzthomas, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuer side of Shennin for the same purpose, was there vtterlie discouraged to proceed anie further, and so without anie thing done, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twice it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Malognes the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being vnder his gouernment, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recovered by Mellerius: euer since which time it hath remained and bene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battells of John de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battells or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against fiftene hundred of his enimies, of whom he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Jerlic about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the streit & narrow passages, he was too much and euerie sones ouerset by the enimies, and so had the worle; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enimies, and in spite of them all travelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Writell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fifth was at the bidge of Phoz, after and vpon his coming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battells he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in them did more annoie the enimie, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath euer since and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancestoz, haue for their part shewed themselves valiant and men of good seruice, for which they haue bene honozable rewarded, and are now barons and peres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the prouince or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

### The description of Iohn de Courcie.

Chap. 20.

**I**n this John de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie: and being from his verie youth bent

Prophecie  
of Celodine  
fulfilled.

is a prophetic  
of Iheremias,  
fulfilled,

is  
it  
in  
ad  
of  
of  
ie  
ell  
a  
he  
in  
d,  
of

he  
red  
like  
ng  
he  
re  
his  
ds  
the  
1 a  
th,  
in  
m  
in  
o  
rse  
pe  
so  
us  
cl  
ich  
sa  
und  
ght  
er  
te,  
re  
m,  
nce  
the  
the  
hat  
ick  
ran  
ved

brant to the wars proued a verie valiant souldior. He would be the first in the field and foremost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of honor, that were the enterprise neuer so perillous, and the seruice neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the priuatie thereof apart, he would be as a common souldior, and serue in the place of a priuat seruitor; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hastie than circumspect, he had the worst side and lost the victorie. And although in seruice he were thus forward, earnest, and belement; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enemies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the honor vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man; for through his too much pining and sparing, and by reason he was verie bracerne and vnconstant, his vertues (otherwise great, and deseruing great praises and commendations) were much imperished and blemished. He married the daughter of Gotred king of Haime. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enemies, he at length had the masterie and conquest ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castles throughout Ulster, in such meete and conuenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these three notable & the chiefest posts of Ireland, namely Herueie, Kilmord, and this John de Courcie, by Gods secret (but not vnjust iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Apellertus, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing breuie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of John de Courcie, and leauing the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now retorne againe to Dublin.

The three  
chiefe posts of  
Ireland  
without issue  
lawfull.

The councell or synod kept at Dublin;  
of Viuiant the popes legat, and of Miles Cogan  
gans illuing into Connagh.

## Chap. 21.

**I**n this meane time, Viuiant the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openlie confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreover (1) for so much as the manner and custome was among the Irishie, that whensoever anie goods, come, or bittels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would meele or deale to carrie the same awaie; yet neuerthelesse, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in anie hoisting, and could not elsewhere be prouided of anie bittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church: so that they left with the churchwardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they toke awaie. These things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of souldiors vnder William Fitzalderme, as also constable of the citie of Dublin, he

with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horsemen & 300 footmen, passed ouer the riuer of Shenin, & invaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all their towne, villages, and churches, as also all such come as they had in their baggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they toke downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields, neuerthelesse, the Englishmen marched on wards, till they came to the towne of Thomond, where they staied eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of bittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rothorke prince of Connagh, who late in a wood nere the Shenin watcing for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which Miles lost but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enemies were slaine. Which done, he recourted ouer the riuer, & so came safelie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of come, which the husbandmen doe for safetie keepe therein: and this lieth safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themselves: howbeit the same is not so religiously kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzalderme is sent from  
home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his  
place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitzstephans haue the kingdome of Corke  
giuen vnto them.

## Chap. 22.

**W**illiam Fitzalderme, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthie the commendation, sauing that he caused the staffe called Johns staffe to be fetched from Armagh, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose roome the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, joining in commission with him Robert Poole then seneeschall of Wexford and Waterford. The king, after the retorne of the aforesaid Fitzalderme and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good seruice of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valiant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obedience; he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betwene them all south Mounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Corke, from the west part of the riuer at Lismore vnto the seas, sauing and reseruing the citie of Corke, and one cantred of land therevnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Buzel all the north Mounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, sauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred therevnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselves together to loine and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in redinesse they toke shipping and arrived into Ireland in the month of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thence they came

Chap. 23  
the  
of the sun  
in three peres.

sted along vnto Cork, where they were receiued with much honoꝝ both by the citizens, and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzalderne.

As soone as they had pacified and quieted Dermot (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwene them the seauen cantreds, which were nextt to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the thre cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the moze because they were the wooser, and the other had the fewe cantreds that were the better soile and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits thereof growing they equallie diuided betwene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as conteineth one hundred villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus done, they bying and conduct Philip de Buse vnto Limerike. Fitzstephans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortie horsemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie horsemen, Philip de Buse had twentie gentlemen & thre score horsemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortie miles from Cork, & onlie the riuer of Shenin was betwene them and the citie: the same at their coming was set on fire before their eyes by the citizens themselves. Wherefore Stephens and Miles offered to aduenture ouer the water, and to enter the towne; or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enemies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small companie to defend and keepe the same, as also being partly perswaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to returne home in safetie, than to dwell in the middle of his enemies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marvelled that in this iourneie he had so euill successe: for whie he had gathered & retained to him the notablest murderers, thieues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwaies, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yong gentleman and a towarddie, died at Cork in March, to the great sorow and græfe of all his frends. Here about this time was found and sene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of thre yeares there was sene thre eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not vniuersall, but particular eclipses sene onelie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quiettie and peaceablie gouerned and ruled the kingdome of Desmond fise yeres togither, and by their pudence and modestie had restrained the haustie forwardnesse, and rash disposition of their yong men, Miles and Kase the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daughter, went toward Lisemoze, there to meet & to haue a parle with Waterford men: as they sate in the felde waiting and looking for them, one spachtire with whom they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenly

and vnwares came stealing vpon them, and there traitorouslie slue them, and slue of their companie. By meanes wherof the whole countrie forthwith was in an vppoare, insomuch that Dermot Mac Artie, and all the Irishie in those parties, as also the traitor spachtire, were out: and denieng to be any longer the kings loiall subiects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoyed him, that he could neuer recouer himselfe againe, untill that his nephue Keimond, who succeded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the wale this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be warlike and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtil, the one seeking honoꝝ, the other delisting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other willie; the one of great courage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Keimond had how fortune bestowed vpon his vncle Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Cork, and his enemies assailing him round about, forthwith assembled his companie, and hauing in readinesse twentie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bowmen, he taketh shipping at Waterford, and sailing along the coasts, maketh towards Cork with all the hast he can, that he might relieue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enemies. And in the end hauing oftentimes incountered with the enemies, some he killed, some he drove out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselves and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempest followed a faire wether and a calme. Verie hostile after Richard of Cogan, brother vnto Miles, & nothing inferior vnto him in valiantnesse, or any other respect: came into Ireland with a folie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his brothers roome. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephue to Fitzstephans, a verie honest and a wise gentleman, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his vncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Methan, which was perforce taken auaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also afterwards from Kase Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephue of Fitzstephans, and brother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his vncle and brother: for he was learned and a great traveller, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Pont Houis professed himselfe a monke in the monastrie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Waterford, and so became a monke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid auaie his secular wards, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was given by the name of the kingdome of Cork, being bounded from the riuer which flaketh by Lisemoze towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Brendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thre score knights fees. The citie it selfe without cantred of land

what a cantred is.

These eclipses of the sun in thre yeares.



land was reserved to the king, saving that they two had the custodie thereof. This kingdome in course of time for want of heires male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wivres inioined the same during their liues; and after them their heires, untill such time as by a diuision growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irishrie expelled them, and recovered the countrie unto themselves.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said prouince of Corke, and they be now dispersed into sundie families, but the chieffest of them is named Mac Artie Poze, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was advanced to the honor and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take awaie the land from Philip Barrie, and giue it to his son Rafe; and to recover this out of their hands, the said Philip came ouer with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was giuen to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he listeth not or could not keepe it anie longer, deliuered the custodie thereof to his sonne Rafe: who as his father so was he wearte to keepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to inioine, and to make the best thereof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came ouer both to helpe his vnkle, & also to fortifie & buld holds & castles vpon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and keepe the same: and this seemeth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, hauing seized vpon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie haue euer since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their first ancestor, haue from age and to age bene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good seruices, were aduanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honor do continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, rotted, and altogether seasoned in Irishrie! the name and honor being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

How Hugh de Lacie builded castels,  
and fortified in Leinster and Meth.

Chap. 23.

**W**hest these things were thus a doeing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man builded sundrie castels both in Leinster and Meth, and fortified the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin vpon the riuer of (2) Barrow betwixt Dofoye, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Poize by the kings commandement had the charge of, untill he gaue the same ouer and forsooke it. What worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Poize & Fitzabellme, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destitute and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when she is disposed to smile, how she aduanceth and raiseth by men from base estate to high degrees: for why, these two had moze pleasure in chambering and plasing the wantons with yong girls, and to plaie vpon a harpe than to beare a shield or staffe, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be marvelled, that so noble a prince could send such cowards to beare rule, and haue ap-

thozitie in places of seruice. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wise man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were oppressed or driuen out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behauiour and gentle speeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew vnto him the hearts of the people, who desirous to dwell vnder his gouernment, manured the grounds; which being then wast and untilled, was in short space full sowed and fraughted both with come and castell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countrie, he builded towne and erected castels in euerie place, made orders & established lawes for the gouernment of the people. And by this it came to passe, that eue man inioined the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man liued in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loued him, and he assured of all men. But hauing thus by his wisdom, policie, and good gouernment recovered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold enue (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a gealouse and suspicion, that his wit and policie was to appropriate the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarchy would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so received & false rumour so spread, that it was in a short time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could brooke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full vpon the riuer of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Dore, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Dore, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, untill in the troublesome times, in king Richard the seconds time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Greie friers nere adioining to the said castell, which being since dissolved in king Henrie the eightis time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetuall garrison, and thus was it dissiuered from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocesse, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bidge, by reason of a bidge builded of stone ouer the riuer at that place, and whereof the one end butteth vpon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head or spring in the hill called Spans Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Coire. This Barrow keepeth & hath his course through the countie of Ler, and passeth by the market towne of Athie vnto Carlow, and from thence vnto Leighlin, and so to Krosse, a little about which towne it meeteth and ioineth with the Coire, and they together keepe their course about six miles, untill they meet with the Sure, which is nere vnto the late abbete of Dunbadrie: and as they all do spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they haue taken their seuerall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all navigable, and all a like replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The

**S**

the d  
skall  
also  
statu  
but i  
mod  
matt  
blike  
And  
great  
drie  
verie  
succe  
lose  
made  
ueto  
bitio  
Lein  
(1) 33  
lustie  
vint  
waie  
som  
but o  
nest.  
Hugh  
of W  
Philip  
same  
and i  
in A  
phie;  
abus  
sole

(1)  
thre  
som  
med  
and  
(2)  
Ger  
son  
Ger  
lian  
gair  
tow  
his  
two  
illu

Hc  
1

**S**

and  
sent  
her  
and

The description of Hugh  
de Lacie.

## Chap. 24.

**I**f you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall understand his eyes were blacke and deepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin upwards by a mischance was shetwolie skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie hatric, as also not fleshy but sinewy and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne privat matters, but in causes of gouernment and in all publicke affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he was a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his sundrie adventures wherein he was sometimes rash and verie hastie, he sped not alwaies best no; had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choise: he was verie greedie and covetous of wealth and possessions, but ouermuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinster florished Robert Fitzhenrie brother unto (1) Meilerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter draweth and is cold, both fade and wither awaye. Likewise (2) Alexander and Geraldus the two sonnes of Maurice. And albeit Gerald was a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Poivre constable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Poivre seneeschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the yonger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Keimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange wonders at Fother in Metch, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie; namelie, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried awaie.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Khesus had thre husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Meilerius.

(2) This same Pessa had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windsofe, and by him had issue hir fourth son named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Khesus the father of this Pessa, and kept the towne and castell of Denbroke against him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betwene them, he married this ladie, and had wothie issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie vpon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returne againe from thence.

## Chap. 25.

**T**he suspicion conceived of Hugh de Lacie daile increased more & more, and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John constable of Chester and Richard Ber, whome he appointed to carrie and serue in his place, & to be the gouernors of lordes

justices of the land. But before he should depart and go awaie, it was agreed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castles and sundrie forts be builded in Leinster: for Metch was alrebie metlie well and indifferently fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castles in Fotheret of Dunolun, the one for (1) Keimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the third was at (2) Tresseldermont nere to Mochoghs countrie for Walter of Kidenford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill vpon the riuer of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fift at Collach for John Herford. And as for Kildare, which with the countrie adjoining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Meilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and sauege countrie, full of woods, palles, and bogs, and in the middle of the enimies, as also from any succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Mers and so wothie a souldier.

These things being thus done in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie took his passage ouer to England, and made his speedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wisely and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resolved of his truth and fidelitie, but also putting especial confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de constable and Richard Ber, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and took assurance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he joined in commission with him one Robert of Salisbury, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant vnto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh vpon his first deuises, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more castles he builded, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the sooner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castles therfore which he builded, he made one at Achmeho in Ler, which he gaue to Meilerius, as also gaue him his neece to wife; also one castell nere to Abowie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thence an other castell which he belueered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thence he builded one other castell at the Mochach on the riuer of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: besides in Metch he builded the castles of Dunach and of Kilaire, as also Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Pigents castles, and manie others, which were now so long to be particularlie repeted and rected.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Metch, betwene a priest and a wolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may seme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited. For as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall seme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheles they are most true. For nature can not preuaile no; do anie thing against the Lord of nature: neither ought anie creature to contemne or scoone, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the yonger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pittie) by lewd and naughtie counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers, & the lustiest gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Gesteie the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by

Talke betwene a priest and a wolfe.

Gods

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his unnatural ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie balliant and a iustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at sparels to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortly after also the foresaid Gesteire, a noble and a balliant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowess might haue bene the sonne of Achilles or Achilles, who now revolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Rhefus prince of Wales had thre husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsor, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Desmond, and Ormsby.

(2) Tresseldermont is a castell about a fiew miles from Catherlough, & sometimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Downe. The English writers doe saie that this castell was not builded in this Tresseldermont, but at Kilken, a castell about thre miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kildare. But the Latine booke, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I doe herein follow, doe write it by expresse words, Tresseldermont.

(3) This castell of Clanill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlow or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countrie doth attribute this castell of Carlow to Gua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeareth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castells builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelle, and for their defence and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Ex is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreame confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no thire ground, but inhabited by the Poyes, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parliament in the third and fourth yeares of Phillip and Marie, and named the Quenes countie.

### The death of Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and of John Comin made arch- bishop in his place.

Chap. 26.

**I**n this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1180. He was a (1) iust and a good man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the council of (2) Laterane, and there inuicighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staied, and in the end there died, where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him John Comin an Englishman boine, and a monke in the abbete of Euenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Waterbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would

haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too wolvish, & haue sought to haue pleased wolvish princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common objection in the Romish church, that if anie one had received the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince; yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a godlie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The council of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall councils that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Many decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the council could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controversies betwene kings and princes, the correction thereof should appertaine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperor, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

### The coming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap. 27.

**T**he king to aduance his younger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion of Iouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a finall end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his coming, who shortly took his iourne about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Phillip of Worcester, a balliant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to staie there as gouernour of the land vntill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Phillip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he returned and took into the kings vse the lands in Whartheffe, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings provision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the cleargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thence to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, silver, and monie, which he had exacted in euery place where he came: for other god he did none. In this iourne there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armagh concerning the great anguish and griefe of (3) Phillip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornaice which Hugh Trel took away from the poore priests at Armagh, as moze at large is declared in our topographie.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeit he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appeareth by the course of the histories of this time: he was about building of a castell at Deruagh, and there being among his labourers,

labo:  
his v  
pick  
This  
mall  
behin  
the b  
felle  
ter a  
(2)  
one:  
at C  
Thor  
at A  
of th  
thou  
of J  
all &  
succ  
land  
this:  
shop  
This  
pope  
bist  
garn  
tion  
arch  
cour  
omit  
and l  
rem  
the &  
been  
rem  
lieth  
bett  
(3)  
bein  
clean  
tow  
whic  
pote  
(4)  
whic  
whic  
the p  
him  
nigt  
with  
also  
gre:  
nin  
pan  
pen

what the bl-  
shops pall is.

Two other  
miracles

8

land  
with  
the  
the l  
of t  
and  
mal  
falli  
him

2.25, 26, 27.

orne  
dble

bfer  
id ro  
e ne  
t his  
be in  
oun  
scrip  
God

me of  
hath  
nt the  
de for  
et the  
etion  
ing o  
ouer  
ther  
man  
ad ad

S

sonne  
nition  
taken  
same:  
all end  
ne his  
as a  
things  
thwith  
it, and  
f Sep  
till of  
and a  
s conr  
he to  
his his  
iced in  
d toke  
and di  
before  
gs pro  
t, he af  
panic,  
parth  
magh,  
d from  
d trea  
d from  
n with  
euerie  
re. In  
racles,  
ngully  
d went  
or nace  
priefts  
our to

as sent  
counte  
allding  
ing his  
uwers,

labozers, and saying one not to frame verie well in his worke, taught him what he should do, taking his pickear in both his hands and bzake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and maister thus stopping and labouring, suddenlie came behind him, and with his ar or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishops, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Thomond for the prouince of Connaugh, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Ulster. The chiefest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euerie one of the others be named a pimat of Ireland, yet this one alone is named pimat of all Ireland; which title he hath partlie because he is succellour to S. Patrike, who first conuerted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is because this archbishop was the first that received a pall from the pope, which pall is a certeine inuesture of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euerie archbishop, who weareth the same vppermost vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whie it is giuen to euerie archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therefore I will omit it. This Armagh was sometimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedraall church, lieng farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the Dnels and other sauage people; the same hath bene and still is and lieth wast; and the archbishop remoued to a house of his named Terseham, which lieth nere the towne of Drogheda, being a place of better safetie.

(3) The historie is, that this Whilp of Worcester being well landed with great riches eraded from the cleargie and departed, he was no sower out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recovered it.

(4) This Hugh Mirell among other the spoiles which he toke, he had a great byring for nace or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his doing the priefts cursed him, and he caried this along with him untill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the hozles which bzew the said pan, as also much goods which they bzought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be sozie, and so refozed the pan againe.

### The comming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

Chap. 28.

While these things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Jerusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of February; who bzought with him the keies of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behoufe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of th' order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humble desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of

the holie land, and Christes patrimonie, desperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdom would fall thoztlie into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Wh what a glorie was it to this king and kingdom, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to requ're aid! How worzhie, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie bene, if he setting aside other businesse, and for saking his kingdoms, had taken without delate (at this calling of Christ) Christes crosse, and haue followed him! Verelie, he should haue receiued of him the euerlasting kingdom, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he receiued his kingdom, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Wh if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worzhie a kingdom in this point of necessitie, and this trial of deuotion, he might haue bene worzhie fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutoz in all his affaires and necessities that fouer.

### The answer of the king to the patriarch.

Chap. 29.

At last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were croised to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch receiued this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserued for him, and moze also for the defense of the holie land. To whome the patriarch answered by following this aduise. Wh king you do nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor reserue Christes patrimonie. We come to seeke a prince, and not monie. Euerie part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Therefore we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh an other deuise: he desireth him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yongest sonne John, that the bloud descending from the Anloves might in a newe bzanch rasse by the kingdom.

John himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers feet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Jerusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch seeing he could do nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, he spake thus against the king, in th' audience of manie, with a threatfull and propheticall spirit. Wh glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto daillie increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtlesse is this triall being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From henceforth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this threat by penance, like the king of Nininie, and had caused this sentence to be altered!

This was  
the saying of  
the miltie  
clea.

Two strong  
miracles.

The holie man spake this thing thise, first at London, then at Dover, and lastlie at Chymon castell be-  
 yonde the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had  
 bene a man without that prophetical spirit, & had ra-  
 ther spoken a lesing, that we may so more euidently  
 touch such things brieflie as were before spoken by  
 that true forespeaker, which we saw shortly to take  
 effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and five  
 yeares, thirtie yeares were granted him for worldlie  
 glorie, expectation of his conuersion, & trial of his de-  
 uotion; but the last five yeares fell vpon him, as vpon  
 an vngratefull, reprobate, and abiect seruant, in re-  
 uengement, for row, & ignominie. For in the two and  
 thirtieth yeare of his reigne, immediatlie after the  
 coming of the patriarch, his first enterprise of sen-  
 ding his sonne John into Ireland, both the labour  
 and cost was frustrate and lost. The thre and thir-  
 tith yeare, whereas he neuer lost land before, he lost  
 to king Philip (being but a child) almost all Anjou.  
 The foure and thirtieth yeare he lost the castell Rader,  
 and loincere all Berie. The five and thirtieth yeare  
 of his reigne, and the fourth yeare after the coming  
 of the patriarch, not onlie king Philip of France,  
 but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him,  
 he lost the cities of Towres and Spaine, with manie  
 castles, and himselfe also; according to that in saint  
 Gregorie: Those that the Lord hath long forborne,  
 that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert,  
 he condemneth them the more grauously.

### The croising of kings.

Chap. 30.

**W**hat perchance the king was reserued by  
 beauntie disposition to the victorie of deser-  
 ued loue. How much greater is it to repaire  
 things cast downe, than to vnderprop things  
 likelie to fall: And who had knowne Hector, if Troie  
 had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduer-  
 sitie is more instant and vged, by so much the glorie  
 of valiantnesse will shine the brightter. For by the se-  
 cret iudgement of God, within two yeares after the  
 victorie was given to the pagans and Porthians, a-  
 gainst the christians, either to reuenge the cold deuo-  
 tion of the east church, or to trie the deuout obedience  
 of the westerne men; the worthie Richard earle of  
 Poitiers hearing this overthrow, toke deuoutlie the  
 croisure vpon him at Towres, giuing an example  
 to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king  
 of England, the earles father, and Philip king of  
 France, who had bin before at variance (with Gods  
 grace, and the archbishop of Towres perswasion) in  
 that place and that houre, at their conference at Guit-  
 fors were croised, with manie other great men of the  
 clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example  
 of the erle, so after their example the emperor Fre-  
 derike, through the perswasion of the duke of Alba,  
 with manie states of Almanie were croised in the  
 lords court at Pentz. So as it is thought, the king  
 of England being reserued more than all other to  
 the restoring of the decayed state of the holie land, if  
 he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that  
 famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had bene  
 verified in him. His beginning (saith he) shall waue  
 with wild affections, and his end shall mount to  
 heauen.

A prophesie of  
 Merlin Ambrosius  
 concerning the king

### The discord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

**S**udden discord rose betwene the kings  
 and that (which was worse) betwene the fa-  
 ther and the earle, through the working of the  
 old enmie, & their finnes deseruing the same,

to the great hinderance of their noble enterprise: as  
 though they being vnited for it, the honoz thereof was  
 reserued for other; or perchance according to the sen-  
 tence of Gregorie: Aduersitie, which is obiect ad-  
 gainst god bowes, is a trial of vertue, and not a  
 signe of dispoise. Who is ignorant how happie a  
 thing it was that Paule was driuen into Italie, and  
 yet he suffered shipwacke: But the ship of his heart  
 was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise  
 therefore as vertue is perfected in infirmities, and gold  
 tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that can-  
 not be craied with tribulations, doth increase more  
 as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more va-  
 liant againe than troublous assaults of fortune. How  
 much rather would I, that these kings accom-  
 panied with a few men acceptable to God, had ta-  
 ken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious  
 iourneie, than to war proud for the great wealth that  
 they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read  
 ouer the whole bible, and consider these latter times,  
 and you shall find, that victorie hath bene gained, not  
 with force and humane power, but with Gods grace  
 and store of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: An  
 armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as  
 Seneca saith, Not the number of the people, but the  
 vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure before  
 named, the emperor Frederike, albeit he was the  
 last croised, yet in the execution thereof he was the  
 first: whome therefore I account so much the more  
 worthy of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth,  
 that he foraking large kingdomes and his empire,  
 belated not out the matter.

### A vision and exposition thereof.

Chap. 32.

**T**herfore I thought it not inconuenient  
 to set downe a vision, which he that vnder-  
 standeth much from wisemen & reueraleth it to babes  
 visited me withall, being a most simple and  
 vile wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that civil  
 and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle  
 of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chymon castell  
 the seuenth ides of Maie: at night in my sleepe a-  
 bout the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great  
 multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as  
 it were wondering at somewhat. So I lifting vp  
 mine eyes to see what the same was, I saw a bright  
 light breake out betwene the thickenesse of the  
 clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie seuered  
 asunder, and the lower heauen as it were being o-  
 pened, and the sight of mine eyes pearling through  
 that window to the empyreall heauen, there appeared  
 the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as  
 it were to be spotted, all kinds of munition being  
 bent against it. You might haue seene there a head  
 cut from one, an arme from another, and some stri-  
 ken through with arrowes, some with lances, and  
 some with swords. And when manie of the beholders  
 either for the brightnes, or terror, or pittie, had fallen  
 flat on their faces: me thought that I (to see the end  
 of the matter) did blesse it longer than the rest. So  
 they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the  
 bloudie slaues fell vpon the prince of the heauenlie  
 orders, sitting in his throne as he was wont to be  
 pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the  
 right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him  
 through the right side with their lances, and immedi-  
 atlie there followed a terrible voice in this maner,  
 Woe, woe, Holy-ghost! But whether it came from  
 heauen, or was uttered by the people beneath, I can  
 not tell; and so the terror of this voice & the vision  
 awakened me.

The meaning  
 of the foresaid  
 vision.

are a  
 fat in  
 was i  
 halfe  
 haue  
 lie to  
 my fo  
 mind  
 sleepe  
 selfe:  
 tion I  
 creat  
 weap  
 the se  
 red:  
 doth  
 desly,  
 He th  
 meth  
 but th  
 ner th  
 fath  
 enim  
 done  
 him I  
 do si  
 crosse  
 being  
 that  
 elle st  
 but li  
 ter li  
 blone  
 he for  
 sie: I  
 red lu  
 ment  
 ning  
 and e  
 Woc  
 grafi  
 voice  
 fine, i  
 man  
 Lord  
 hasti  
 ment  
 the ch

A  
 strange  
 vision.

domi  
 phue  
 death  
 king  
 king  
 of th  
 two  
 man  
 the r  
 from  
 men  
 sign  
 casse  
 pulst  
 dedit



I call him here to witnesse, to whom all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatly as I sat in my bed, & revolved these things in my mind, I was in so great an horroz both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recouring deuoutly to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse of stones, & fortifying my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sleepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horroz. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see his creator smitten through with weapons? What man without græfe can abide to see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered? Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & doth not suffer there with? What this vision portendeth, without p̄seldice to anie I will shew briefly. He that suffered once in his owne person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriously entered his kingdome; his enemies now go about to dep̄rue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I doe suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being taken auaie, his enemies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Where else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great græfe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of græfe doubled. And where that woofull mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the Almans and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grieuouslie than other nations, as their hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

The meaning  
of this  
vision.

### The memorable euents of our time.

#### Chap. 33.

I thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euents in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephue of Henrie by his daughter Matilda: as well the death of the worthy knight Cuthbert the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quene Matilda the countesse of Buloigne. When the concord adoption made betwene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marriage of quene Matilda, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatly, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The afflicte of the castell of Bridgenorth vpon Seuerne, and the commission of the worthy knight Hugh Mortimer to dedition, to the terrible example of all. What ne-

deh manie words? To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous success. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the brechen, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Dene at Colshull in Northwales in a wooddie streit, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Tholouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the dotage of both parts. The yielding vp of prince Dene by the means of his vncle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vniuersall & wrestled confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning annates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; The buls tongues shall be cut out. The insurmounting out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & maintaining the rights of the crucifix, and the p̄sue departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Cullen, & chancelor to the emperour, from the said emperour to the king of England: who was an effectuous perswader of marriage to be had betwene Henrie the emperours nephue duke of Saronie and Bantier, and Matilda the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almain schisme. Not long after the publike perturie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the see of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinently the countie Cunceline, and other states of Saronie came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Poike, to the p̄seldice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Eliano, to be married vnto Ansaldo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dernicus (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of Shallice in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembing of the p̄dges, and great slaughter of his enemies. The martyrdom of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings blood at Winchester. The biage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thence into Normandie; with an appealing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the young king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the countess and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petie Leon cardinall of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a counsell vnder him of all the cleargie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of sup̄masie betwene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Poike: but the allegations on both sides with fits and stanes brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Croia, and earle Floius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marriage betwene him and Joane the kings younger daughter,

A prophesie  
of Merlin  
filled.

\*Albion  
herij.

The ambassadoꝝ of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Navar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castles (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand unto the king of England arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous advocats; among whom, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Navar, excelled in eloquence: the king using wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giving somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, so he was carefull for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he writ the iudiciall examination for a proviso; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitive strife might be decreed by sentence. The comming of Lewis king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whome he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth thereby; at last, rising from his praier (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with everlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue pearlie vnto Canturburie abbete an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Gessreie, with the sudden death of the yonger king at Marcell. The comming on pilgrimage of Godfrie archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Gessreie. The comming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle John into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betwene, in and about the space of thre and thirtie yeares. How glorious had all these things bene, if they had sorted to a good end! Which surely would haue hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whome he receiued all these benefits; and had spent the last five yeares reigne in his seruice. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of sundrie acts,  
and of the comming of John the kings  
sonne to Ireland, with his  
successe there.

Chap. 34.

**W**hen omitting the building of three castles, one at Tipperarie, the other at Archphin, & the third at Lismore, after the comming of earle John, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of thre worthie yong men, Robert Barrie at Lismore, Keimond Fitzhugh at Olean, and Keimond Cantinensis at Droma. Of part of the garrison of Archphin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer date, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Ograine slaine at Tipperarie. Of them of Archphin slaine againe by those of Limerike in taking of a preie.

Of Dermuctus Mac Arthie prince of Desmond, with others slaine in a parke nere Corke by them of Corke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Kencolton, with their prince invading Meth by the men there, of, & William Little, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Bigid, & Columbe at Dundalkie, & their translation from thence by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Wolze, and manie others in Osserie: and thozough that occasion, the priuie conspicate of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castles being therewith destroyed. All which things are not vnworthie to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and wherefore this first enterprize of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare briefly: that this small addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a caueat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme, pag. 53. which being deliuered out of sundrie copies, do perfect one another.]

When all things meete and necessarie for so great a iourne or boiage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then John the kings yonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he toke leaue of his father, and as he trauelled towards saint Dauids to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of South Wales, and so came to (2) Denbroke. There brought and accompanied him vnto the ship a noble and a worthie man named Keinulfe Glanulle, one of the 3. his most priuie counsell in all weightie matters, as also chiefe iustice of England. And on Wednesday in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he toke ship in Milford haven, but for hast he left to do his deuotion and oblation at saint Dauids, which was but an euill halsoning: neuertheless on the next morrow about noontide he arriued in safetie vnto Waterford with all his companie, which were about thre hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horsemen, and others a great number. When was fulfilled the vaticine or prophetic of old Merlin: A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compass about the land of Ireland, and all the foules of that land shall flie round about the fire. And haniug spoken these wordes of his sonne: And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabitants of the land shall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and better shall be the successe of the first than of the second.

John at this his first arriual into Ireland was of the age of 12 yerres, which was from the first arriual of his father thirtene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephens sixtene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty and five, Lucius then Romaine bishop, Frederike the emperoz, and Philip the French king. There passed ouer with the king in the same fleet manie good clerks, among whom (3) one was speciallie commended vnto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall histories,

histories  
same lan  
sient m  
pograph  
home, an  
ued him  
same bei  
paine full  
much mil  
ting: th  
it; the o  
ther of  
ted in hi  
folle.

(1) A  
then but  
chonicle  
as do w  
his sonne  
there dub  
knightho

(2)  
buldoed  
rie the an  
Montgo  
metia, b  
shire. It  
about tw  
castell the  
ling toke  
which nan  
towne of  
castell, wh  
house of  
the earles  
the leuen  
decaie.

(3) A  
sis the aut  
and other  
to studie.  
descender  
pessa his  
the sonne  
this Stra  
grandfath

The pr  
the

**L**

first adue  
who next  
all others  
ended the  
both Fitz  
Mac Tho  
also dese  
thence, &  
The one  
for loue  
should gr  
ing the ir  
quests of  
in Meth,  
right of  
or portio

The ancient  
house of the  
Carwys.

Not.

prophecie  
of Merlin.

hystories, as also had bene before two pearces in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his hystorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leisure served him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his labor of three yeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much misthken and envied at by such as then were living: the one liked it well, but the other dispaired it; the one reaped a benefit and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humor, and was grauelled in his owne folle.

(1) The first voyage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yeres of age: the English chronicles doe make small mention thereof. But such as do write thereof, doe report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Gloucester on this sojnie: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knighthood, sent him on his sojnie.

(2) Denbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomerie the ancestor of the Carews, whose names are Montgomeries, & lieth in Westwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Denbroke, Shire. It standeth upon a crake of Milford haue, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Montgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet reteine. In this towne of Denbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath bene in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Denbroke. In this was king Henrie the seventh borne. It is now in great ruine and in decaye.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much giuen to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Davids, and descended from Girald of Windsoze, and the labie Nesta his wife, for he was the son of Maurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Nesta: and so this Girald of Windsoze was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praise and commendation as also  
the excuse of Robert Fitzstephans and  
the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

Robert Fitzstephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but aboue all others he deserved best, who fulfilled, absolued, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzstephans and the earle did helpe Dermot Mac Murogh to recover his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, theues, & enemies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Gua, & of the (1) inheritance, which by his shoulde grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquests of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the fift part or portion of Ireland, surrendered and yielded up all

his right and title there vnto the king himselfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and iniurie, (as some men suppose and dreame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this hystorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Dermot after his departure from the king came to the cite of Bristol, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Chepstow, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recover his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at saint Davids for passage, there he met with Robert Fitzstephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Waterford with certeine cantreds thereunto adjoining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whie this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

Happy and for euer happy had Ireland bene, which being valiantlie conquered, well replenished with townes, and fortified with castles from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men bene called awaie and sent from home. Vea happy had it bene, if the first conquerors (being noble and valiant men) might according to their deserts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and afraid of our force, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delaieng of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seraunts being called home from thence, new rulers toke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was done to anie purpose: and therevpon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practised our manners in shooting and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skilfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be ouercommed, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof whose listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter dates; you shall find it most certeine and true, that no nation, no state, no cite, nor common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enemie, nor overcome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life did well deserue to be ouerthrowne and ouerrun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleasure that they should utterlie be brought into subiection: neither was it his good will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiecti-

ff. 14. on,

In the cause of ouerthrowne by the enemie.

Note.

The ancient house of the Carews.

Prophecies of Merlin fulfilled.

The foure  
Irish pro-  
phets.

on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole empire and entire souereignty ouer them: for both were sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods hand, but deserued to be seuerelie punished, and therefore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (1) in Dalias castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to haue the foure men whome they account to be great prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration and credit (2) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose books and propheties they haue among themselves in their owne language, and all they intreating and speaking of the conquest of this land, do affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation (4) not much before dooms daie. And albeit the whole land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most part bene in the power of the Englishmen, and by them fortified and replenished with sundrie and manie castles, though sometimes to their perilles and smartes: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall make the absolute and finall conquest, shall come from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Patrike, and vpon a sunndae at night shall with force breake into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Dhalic: and vntill that time the English nation shall from time to time be in continuall troubles with the Irishie, sauing that they shall hold and intoe the whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the seas.

(1) The course of this historie doth at full declare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were maligned, & as much as might be descibed. First Robert Fitzstephens, whose seruice was counted notable, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure, was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe, yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two yeares in his warres: and although he were againe afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow although he came ouer with the king his special licence, yet his good successe was so enuid at, that the king made proclamation, that all his subjects being in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie releeve should be transported out of anie of his dominions into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yeld vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto the kings denotion, & to receiue the same againe to be holden of the king. Keimond who could not be charged, nor spotted with anie vntruth: yet the treacherous Heruie with his false informations so inueigled and falselie informed the king against him, that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie saith) was the first that made waie into Ulster, who fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with manie strong holds & castles, and brought all the countrie to a peaccable state; he was suspected to haue meant the impropriation of the whole land to his owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and gouernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape vp treasure and riches.

(2) Dalias was the daughter of Iupiter, who for

his excellent gift in inuention, is said and famed by the poets to be bozne of the bzaine of Iupiter without anie mother, she inuented the order of warres, and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And because Englishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victorie: therefore they were said not to sit in Dalias castell.

(2) There were two Merlin, and both were prophets: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonus*, or *Syluester*, because his dwelling and habitation was nere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellentlie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he would gesse maruellouslie at the euents of manie things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophet, and reputed for a magician or a diuino. He was in the time of king Arthur, about the yeare six hundred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken in this historie. The other Merlin was before this man and in the time of Moriger: about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike; but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that nothing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them before the euent.

(4) Much adoe there hath bene, and manie books written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would haue the truth plainelie told, it is some to be seene how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for want of a generall reformation. But Plato hath so blinded mens eyes, that seeing they can not nor will not see: but hereof I shall moze at large write in an other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things  
done within the course of the historie  
that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

Here by the waie it were not amisse brieflie to touch & declare of certeine things which happened, & which for certeine causes are not at full discoursed in this storie, as we wished that we might haue had the oportunitie so to haue done. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that John the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded thre castles, one at Tibjagh, an other at Ardephinan, and the third at Lismore. Likewise thre woorthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namely, Robert Barrie at Lismore, Keimond Fitzbugh at Dithan, and Keimond Kantune at Dhozie. Also how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole vpon the earles armie in Dhozie, as they were coming from Dublin towards Limerike, and six foure hundred Irishmen, and foure noble gentlemen, which were their capteines; among whom was Dgranie an Irishman. And also Dermond spacie prince of Desmond, being at parlex with certeine men of Cork not farre from the said towne, was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theobald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth, where they of Kencole & their capteine made a rode, and being set vpon by one William the iustice of that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreover John de Courcie found the bodies of saint Patrike, saint Brigid, and saint Colome at Downe, and remoued them from thence. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell at

at  
C  
E  
L  
A  
T  
R  
L  
S  
A  
T  
H  
S  
T  
H  
R  
E  
T  
U

(  
I  
n  
t  
h  
e  
f  
i  
r  
s  
t  
a  
n  
k  
i  
n  
e  
n  
t  
w  
i  
p  
o  
l  
i  
t  
i  
c  
a  
l

S  
E  
C  
T  
I  
O  
N

a  
n  
t  
h  
a  
t  
h  
a  
w  
a  
p  
r  
i  
n  
c  
i  
p  
a  
l  
i  
n  
t  
h  
e  
f  
a  
r  
o  
f  
g  
a  
i  
l  
t  
h  
e  
f  
a  
r  
s  
o  
n  
a  
l  
l  
i  
n  
t  
h  
e  
f  
a  
r

f  
o  
n  
a  
r  
e  
w  
a  
m  
i  
l  
h  
i  
s  
G  
o  
f  
o  
r  
A  
n  
t  
i  
c  
i  
p  
e  
a  
n  
t  
h  
a  
d  
f  
e  
d  
h  
i  
n  
t  
o  
f

at Wernach, was there traitorously slaine. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost stature of his best gentlemen. Roger le Botz a valiant and a lustie yong gentleman, was by treason taken and murdered in Droghda, whereupon the Irishmen forthwith brake out from their due obedience to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroyed manie castles, and set the whole realme in a great sturre and inquietnesse. Where sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leaving the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzalbine. Afterwards he was sent over by king John to view and serch the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was insoffed with great livings there, as also advanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Desmond and Droghda.

The causes why England could not  
make the full and finall conquest  
of Ireland.

Chap. 38

**W**ere not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a tourne, and therefore his so famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and inue. The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, because that whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem named Iheraclius came in an ambassage vnto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestine called the holie land, requesting that he would take vpon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who hauing bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following utterly to be ouerrun, the said holie land, vntill some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were pouinded: he utterly denied and refused the same. And being further brged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuertheless he sent forth his yonger sonne in a tourne of hosting, more sumptuous than are needfull or profitable: And whether I praise you, was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants: yea, no, it was into the west, & against his euen christian, nothing looking the aduancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefe of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arrivall did come and resort vnto him in peaceable maner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But

our new men & Normans, who had not before bene in those parties making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorne for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great glibes, which they did then weare and vse according to the vse of their countrie: but also they did hardie deale and all intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment shifted themselves out of the towne, & with all hast sped themselves home: euerie one into his owne house; & from thence they with their wiues, children, and household, departed and went some to the prince of Limerike, some to the prince of Corke, some to the prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had bene at Waterford, and what they had seene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yong man was come thither garbed with yong men, and guided by the counsels of yong men: in whom there was no feare, no sobrietie, no steadfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of anye safetie.

These princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chiefe, and who were then preparing themselves in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yielded vnto him the dutifull obedience of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began straightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings worse endings would inue: and reasoning the matter among themselves, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourteouslie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: what would they do to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands: Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and ioine together against the English nation, and to their uttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselves, and wooe each one to the other, and by that means enemies before are now made friends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we do boldly witnesse. And for so much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came vnto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were utterly discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apperteineth vnto honour: yet most and aboue all others do they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vniust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie commend lying and commend truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselves. But to the matter. What great euils and inconueniences do grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may some by learne the example of Rehoboam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harme to learne to beware of his owne: for he being lead and carried by yong mens counsels, gaue a yong mans answer vnto his people, saying vnto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions, by reason whereof ten tribes forsooke him for euer, and followed after Ieroboam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephan came first over, and also the earle; there were certeine Irishmen which toke part with them, and faithfullie serued vnder them: and these were rewarded and had giuen vnto them for recompense certeine lands



The inconueni-  
ences fol-  
lowing euill  
gouernment.

lands, which they quietly held and inioied, untill this  
time of the coming ouer of the king his sonne: for  
now the same were taken from them, and giuen to  
such as were new come ouer, contrarie to the pro-  
mise & grant to them before made, whereupon they  
forsooke vs and fled to our enemies, and became not  
onely spies vpon vs, but were also guides and con-  
ductors of them against vs: they being so much the  
more able to hurt and annoie vs, because they were  
before our familiars, and knew all our orders and  
secrets. Besides this, the cities and townes vpon and  
nere the seacoasts, with all such lands, reuenues,  
tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong  
and appertene, and which before was imploied and  
spent for the defense of the commonwealth & coun-  
trie, and in the seruice against the enemies, were  
now all assigned and bestowed vpon such as were  
giuen to pilling and polling, and who laie still with-  
in the townes, spending their whole time, and all that  
they had in drunkenesse and surfeiting, to the losse  
and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants,  
and not to the annoiance of the enemies. And besides  
sundry other commodities, this was one, and a spe-  
ciall one; that at the verie first entrie of the king his  
sonne into this barulie and rebellious land, the peo-  
ple being barbarous, and not knowing what it was  
to be a subiect, nor what appertained to gouernment,  
such men were appointed to haue the charge, rule  
and gouernment, as who were more meet to talke  
in a parlour than to fight in the fields, better skill to  
be clad in a warme gowne than to be shodded in  
armour, and who knew better how to pill and poll the  
good subjects than to resist and incounter the enemy:  
yea for their ballantnesse and prowesse they might  
well be resembled vnto William Fitzaldelm, vnder  
whose gouernment both Ireland and Wales  
were almost utterly destroyed & lost. For while they  
were neither faithfull to their owne people nor bread-  
full to their enemies; yea they were utterly void of  
that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man,  
which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate,  
and to resist the proud and obstinate; but rather of the  
contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and  
winked at their enemies: for to resist and withstand  
them nothing was done, no castles nor fortresses  
bulld, no passes for safetie made, no waies for ser-  
uice opened, but althings went to ruine, and the com-  
mon state to wracke. Whereouer, the seruicing men  
and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking  
well of their captains and masters maners and loose  
life, gaue themselves to the like, spending their whole  
time in rioting, banqueting, whoredome, and all other  
dissolute and wanton orders, farrieng still within the  
townes and places far off from the enemies. For as  
for the marches (so called because the same bordered  
vpon their enemies; or rather of spars, because in  
those places martiall affaires were and are wont  
to be most exercised) they would not come nere the  
fight thereof, and by that means the people there  
dwelling and seated, the soles there manured, the  
castles there bullded, were altogether destroyed, wa-  
sted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowesse of  
the old captains, the good seruices of the veterans  
& well experimented soldiers by the insolent, dissem-  
perat, and lewd life of these new comes was discre-  
dited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for,  
but after such calmes must needs insue stormes and  
tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the townes  
in securitie and at rest, wallowing in lech and wan-  
ton life, euery daie being a holie daie to Bacchus  
and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was  
most miserable and lamentable. For euery where  
was howling and weeping, the manured fields be-  
came waste, the castles destroyed, and the people

murdered, and no netwes but that the utter destruc-  
tion of the whole land was at hand. And in this di-  
stresse and necessitie it had bene verie requisite and  
needfull that the souldiers should haue taken by their  
weapons, serued against the enemy, and haue de-  
fended the common state: but it was farre otherwise,  
for there was such lawing & veration in the townes,  
one battie laing and troubling another, that the ve-  
terane was more troubled with lawing within the  
towne, than he was in perill at large with the en-  
emy. And thus our men, giuen ouer to this trade and  
kind of life, became fainthearted, and afraid to looke  
vpon the enemy: and on the contrarie the enemy  
most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land  
then gouerned, and thus the same posseed towards  
the destruction of the English nation and gouern-  
ment, which had doubtlesse verie sportlie follow-  
ed and insued, had not the king prouided a speedie re-  
medie for the same. For the king being aduertised  
how disorderlie things framed, and considering with  
himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and  
people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these  
new come souldiers, in whome (other than the name  
of a souldier was nothing of ante value and com-  
mendation) and commandeth them to repaire and  
come home, and sendeth ouer in their places these  
old beaten and well tried souldiers, by whose seruice  
the land before had bene conquered and kept, among  
whome one and the chiefeest was John de Courcie,  
who was made lord deputy, and had the gouerne-  
ment of the land committed vnto him: who, accor-  
ding to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the refo-  
rmation of all things meet and requisite to be redres-  
sed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his  
said affaires and seruices, the more the land grew to  
good order, and inioied peace & quietnesse. For while  
he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer  
his souldiers to lie idle like loiterers and luggabeds:  
but was alwaies labouring and traouelling abroad,  
and marching still towards the enemies, whome he  
followed and pursued even through the whole land, to  
the uttermost parts thereof, as well in Conke, Tho-  
mond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means  
he could haue ante aduantage of them, he would  
suerlie giue the onset and aduenture vpon them:  
which for the most part was to their ouerthrowne,  
though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt  
the smart. And would to God he had bene as pro-  
udent a captaine as he was a valiant souldier; and as  
prouident in the one as skillfull and hardie in the o-  
ther. But to my former purpose. Among the manie  
and sundrie inconueniences happened by euill go-  
uernment of these new officers (as is before said)  
there was none greater, nor more to be lamented  
than was this: that notwithstanding God of his  
goodnesse did giue the victorie, and send the happie  
successe in this noble conquest: yet was there nei-  
ther due thanks attributed vnto God, nor any re-  
membrance giuen vnto his church; but to increase  
a further ingratitude, they toke and spoiled a waie  
from the same their lands and possessions, as also  
mindeed to abridge them of their old and ancient pri-  
uileges & liberties. A great a note of ingratitude,  
and an argument of too much vnthankfulness: where-  
of what vniquietnesse and troubles did insue, the se-  
quels thereof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew  
and declare.

So manie outrages & disorders, which did creepe  
in by the disordered gouernment vnder the king his  
sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his young  
and tender yeares, as vnto the euill counsels and di-  
rections of such as were about him, and had the spe-  
ciall charge thereof: for such a savage, rude, and bar-  
barous nation was by good counsels, discreet direc-  
tions

Lawing  
couple from  
warring.

The first  
dual count  
you for their  
curried full  
and about

at  
u  
st  
u  
pr  
is  
bl  
so  
ar  
su  
le  
ar  
it;  
pe  
so  
th  
ut  
th  
hi  
ar  
go  
w  
lie  
fit  
ne  
so  
de  
ch

be  
by  
ou  
me  
th  
so  
ne  
ce  
th  
w  
an  
th  
hi  
ch  
ad  
qu  
gr  
la  
co  
pa  
op  
in  
th  
lin  
mi  
sa  
no  
ha  
in  
the  
to  
ble  
ne  
roi  
in  
fo  
ted  
(  
w  
chil  
suc

Lawing  
worse than  
warring.

ations and prudent gouernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wisse and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wisemen doe know it; and the elder sort doe confesse it to be true, although yong men to couer their folies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselves great liuings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would doe this and that with manie god morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defense of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chieselie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people enen from the beginning haue bene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodies: their beards and heads they neuer wash, clense, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to growe, sauing that some doe vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fast together, and in procelse of time it matted so thicke and fast together, that it is in stead of a hat, and keepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelue chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect therof, is that after the death of Salomon the people of Israel requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grieuous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of yong heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Waterford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limericke, when the earle of Desmond recovered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Irishmen, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Devon, and had a seat there by the gift of the Hauenaughs, but since resisting against them and denieng to pae there accustomable cheuerie, yelded themselves vnto the earle of Desmond, pasing vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defendor against the said Hauenaughs, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Devon.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentieth chapter in the description of this John de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher of Ecclesiastes; Who be vnto the Lord thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not meant absoluttle of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and

is void of that grauitie, wisdome, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Josias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet bicause he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

### Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

Chap. 39.

There were three sundrie sorts of seruitors which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Normans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Normans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not feed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or anie remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to keepe anie remote castell or fort, but would be still about their lords side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweare and flatter, and standing in their owne reputation, disdain all others. They receiued great interteinement and were liberallie rewarded, and left no meanes vnsought how they might rule the rois, beare the sway, and be aduanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and foremost, but to serue in holling, to incounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to follow anie martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthy seruitors, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdain, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decayed, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they toke in hand.

The Normans fine in their apparell and delicate in their diet.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earldomes of Gascoigne, Guien, Anjou, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those prouinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouernment, as also his seruitors in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerie of these prouinces some, yet bicause Normandie was the chiefe, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

### How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

Chap. 40.

It is an old saying, that euerie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be beleued: & so in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue bene the chiefe travellers and seruitors in and about the first reuerie

his who should  
pic durst could  
rele you see that  
cursed fault  
and abuser

epe  
his  
ing  
di  
pe  
ar  
tre  
ons

uerie of this land, do know and can best discouer the natures, manners, and conditions of these people and nation: for as the matter speciallie toucheth them, so none can do it better than they. For while, by reason of their continuall warres with them being their most mortall enemies, none can better saie than they how they are either to be conquered or vanquished. And he by the wale hapie had Wales bin, I meane that Wales which the English people do inhabit, if the king therof in governing the same or when he incountried with his enemies had used this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These Romans although they were verie good souldiers and well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in France far differeth from that which is used in Ireland and Wales; for the soile & countrie in France is plaine, open, & champaine; but in these parts it is rough, rockie, full of hills, woods, & bogs. In France they weare complet harnesses, and are armed at all points, not onelie for their honoz, but especiallie for their defense and safeties; but to these men the same are combersome & a great hinderance. In France they keepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these men are light horsemen & range alwaies at large. In France they keepe their prisoners and put them to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine countrie, it behoueth all men to be armed, some in complet harnesses, some in iackets, some in Almaine riuets, & some in brigandines & shirts of maille, according to their places of seruice. So on the contrarie, where the fight & triall is in narrow streits, rockie places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which footmen are to serue and not horsemen, there light armor and slender harnesses will best serue. To fight therefore in such places and against such men, as be but naked and unarmed men, and whome at the first push and aduenture, either the victorie must be had or lost, light and easie armor is best and conuenient. And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and aduantage they seeke waies through streits and bogs, and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much armor to follow and pursue them. Moreover, the Frenchmen and Romans most commonlie are horsemen, and do serue on horsebacke, & these men haue their sables so great and deepe, that they cannot at ease leape vp and downe; and being on foot by reason of their armor, they cannot serue nor trauell. And you shall farther vnderstand, that in all the seruices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as do dwell in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars, they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experiences, they can endure anie paines and trauels, they are used to watchings and wardings, they can abide hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage of their enemies; and their seruice by horse is such, that they are readie to take aduantage of the field, being quicke & readie to take and leape to the horse, as also to leaue the same, & to follow the enemy at their best aduantage, whether it be on horse or on foot. And such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which first gaue the aduenture and first preuailed in Ireland: and by such also in the end must the same be fully conquered, that when the battell is to be fought & waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and against such as be thoughtlie armed and appointed for the same, it is reason that the aduerser part be likewise armed and appointed. But when the matter is to be waged in strepe places, rough fields, rockie hills, or in marshy and boggy grounds, and against such as be quicke of foot, and do seeke others to

Great odds  
betweene the  
warres in  
France and  
Ireland or  
Wales.

tops of hills, or to bogs, and woods: then men of the like exercise, and hauing light armor, are to be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing is to be considered, that you do in euertie wing to the your bowmen with your footmen and horsemen, that by them they may be defended from the harnes, whose nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are wont shewable to annoy their enemies, who by the bowmen are to be kept off. And moreover, that the hither part of the land lying on the east side, or part of the Shenin which blaieth the three other parts from this, and this being the fourth part must be well fortified with castles and forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties (saining the citie of Limerike which must needs be recovered and kept in the English gouernement) must for a time be borne withall, and by little and little by fortifying of the frontiers in met places be gotten and recovered, and so by little and little to grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

How the Irish people being vanquished, are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

As there be means and policies to be used in conquering this people, who are now more light in their bodies than inconstant in mind: so when they are vanquished, they must in an order be ruled and gouerned. First and principally therefore it is to be considered, that whosoever shall be gouernor ouer them, that he be wise, constant, discret, and a staied man; that in time of peace, and when they are contented to liue under law and in obedience, they may be gouerned by law, directed by right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and valiant, readie, and able with force leuerellie to punish all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance) shall either rebell and breake out, or otherwise liue in disordered maner. Moreover, when anie haue done amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and do yet afterwards knowledg their folkie, and yelding themselves haue obtained pardon; that in no wise you do afterwards euill intreat them, neither yet laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast them in the teeth of their follies: but hauing taken such assurance of them as you may, to intreat them with all courtesies and gentlenesse, that by such good means they may the better be induced and incouraged to keepe themselves within their dutie, for loue of their good gouernement which they see: and yet be afraid to do euill for feare of punishment, which they are to receiue for their euill and lewd doings. And if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but confound their doings, being slacke to punish the euill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to spoile them in peace; to fauor them in their treasons and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue in loialtie, as we haue seene manie so to haue done: surely these men so disorderedly confounding all things, they in the end shall be confounded themselves. And because harms foresene do least annoy & hurt, let them which be wise take well, that in time of peace they do prepare for the warres. For after the Alcion daies and calme seas do follow stormes and tempests: and therefore, when they haue vacant times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castles, cut downe and open the passes, and do all such other things as the nature of warres requirith to be prepared. For this people being vncerteine, craftie, and subtil, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies to be studying and deuising of mischiefes. And also to

So better  
teachers than  
examples.

The harnes  
blaieth the  
hill.

cc  
e  
bi  
ol  
b  
A  
a  
ti  
ti  
d  
ti  
t  
v  
p  
t  
e  
a  
c  
1  
1  
1  
1  
1  
1

cause

by better  
examples than  
by words.

be Keene  
age in bat.

cause it is good to be wise by another mans harme,  
+ to learne by other mens examples. For nothing doth  
better teach a man than examples, and the paterns  
of things done afore time. Let not them forget what  
became of these worthy men, Miles of Cogan,  
Kase Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Bolewe,  
and others, who when they thought of least danger  
they were in most perill: and when they thought  
themselves in most safetie, they were intrapped and  
destroyed. For as we haue said in our Topographie; 10  
this people is a craftie and a subtil people, and more  
to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open  
warres: for their peace indeed is but enimitie, their  
policies but craft, their friendships but coloured, and  
therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by  
experience the same in some part hath bene proued:  
and therefore, as Euodius saith, Let the fall and ruine  
of things past be forwarnings of things to come.

And because herein a man can not be too wise nor  
warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it  
is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare anie  
weapon at all, no not so much as a staffe in their  
hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,  
though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take  
the aduantage, and bewreake their malice and can-

kered stomachs. Finally, forsomuch as the kings of  
England haue a iust title, and a full right to the land  
of Irelund in sundrie and diuerse respects; and con-  
sidering also that the same is chiefly maintained by  
the intercourc and traffike of merchandizes out of  
England; and without the same cannot reueue and  
helpe it selfe; it were verie expedient that for the ac-  
knowledging of the one, and for the inteieng of the  
other, as also for the supporting of the continuall  
charges of the king of England there yearelie be-  
stowed: that there be a yearelie tribute paied and an-  
swered vnto the kings of England, either in monie,  
or in such commoditties as that land breedeth, as well  
for the continuance of the title in memorie, as also  
for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And be-  
cause time weareth awaie, and men doe daile perishe  
and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of  
the king and of his realme, and the memorie of this  
conquest, the same be ingrossed and registred in a  
publike instrument to indure for euer. And thus ha-  
uing spoken what we know, and witnessed what we  
haue seene, we doe here end this historie, leaving vn-  
to others of better knowledge and learning, to con-  
tinue the same as to them shall be thought most need-  
full and conuenient.

*Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis.*



The processe of Irish affaires (beginning where  
Giraldus did end) vntill this present age, being a wit-  
nesse of sundrie things as yet fresh in memorie: which  
processe from henceforward is intituled  
*the Chronicles of Ireland.*



Leauing at the conquest of Ireland penned  
by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, we are now to pro-  
ceed in that which followeth: wherein our  
authour (as he himselfe writeth) vsed such  
notes as were written by one Philip Flat-  
burie, out of a certeine namelesse author,  
from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and  
we hauing none other helpe besides (ex-  
cept onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do set downe that which we  
find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the same Marleborow  
in all the whole discourse that followeth, except in some cer-  
teine particular places, where we shew from whence  
we haue drawne that which we write  
as occasion serueth.



# THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.



A castle built  
at Derwath.

**H**ugh de Lacie (of whom such memorable mention is made hertofore) the rather to meet with such hurly burles as were like to put the state of the Irish country in danger, if the same were not the sooner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of castles and forts in places convenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garnished with men, munitions, and vittels, as one at Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall in byz with any such exercise, wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and taste the sweetnesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation: for which cause he visited them the oftner, and merittie would command his gentlemen to giue the labozers example to take their toles in hand, and to worke a season, whilst the poore soules looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was busilie occupied, some lading, some heauing, some plastersing, some grauing, the generall also himselfe digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among them, whose tole the noble man vsed, espiong both his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining downward, still as he stroke watched when he so stayed, and with an arc cleft his head in sunder, little esteeming the torments that for this traitorous act ensued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to arie due order of obedience vnto the English power. His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin, and Mattheu of Cashill buried in the monasterie of White, and his head in saint Thomas abbey at Dublin.

Lacie and  
Hugh Lacie  
conqueror  
were the  
same in  
name.

1599.  
King John  
Lacie his ne-  
phew Arthur.

By occasion of this murder committed on the person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh Lacie the younger, with their assistants, did a right execution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euery mischief per it fell, staied the realme from byzozes. Thns they knitting themselves together in friendship, continued in wealth and honor untill the first yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeding his brother king Richard, toke his nephew Arthur, son to his brother Cestreie earle of Britaine, and dispatched him (some said) with his owne hands, because he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as descended of the elder brother. And therefore not onlie the French king, but also certeine lords of England and Ireland fauored his title: and when they understood that he was made awaie, they toke it in maruelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous crueltie, whereof all mens eares were full, spake bloudie words against king John, which his lurking aduersaries (that laie ready to undermine him) caught by the end, and vsed the same as a meane to lift him out of credit: which they did not onlie bying to passe, but also procured a commission to attach his bodie, and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie mistrusting his part, and belike getting some intelling of their drift, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacie lord iustice was faine to leue an armie and to invade Ulster, from whence he was oftentimes put backe: whereupon he proclaimed Curcie traitor, and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great recompense, to bying him in either quick or dead. They fought once at Dolone, in which battell there died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice soiled at Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in praactising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne captiues were inuiceth to betraie their owne master: insomuch that vpon Good fridaie, whilst the earle out of his amour visited barefooted certeine religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him, toke him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into England the next waie, where he was adiudged to perpetual prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collections (as Campion saith) that Lacie paid the traitors their monie, and forthwith thereupon hanged them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebendaries of the trinitie in Dolone, to an abbey of blacke monks brought thither from Chester, and caused the same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature; he dauid himselfe with hisse punished. Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French knights came to king Johns court, and one among them required the combat for triall of the right to the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expedient to icopard the title vpon one mans lincke, yet the chalenge they determined to answer. Some friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a warrior of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for that said the erle, whose person I esteeme vnto this his aduenture of my blood, but for the crowne & dignitie of the realme, in which manie a good man lieth against thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

These

These  
as proce  
was the  
foze bei  
so want  
in diet  
ger tol  
with hi  
further  
rous to  
might  
he was  
on fozt  
kings,  
cie tak  
frowni  
such a  
der, the  
there to  
selfe.  
the kin  
them b  
foze he  
that if  
killed a  
others.  
the sea  
was fil  
lith the  
died the  
tie of li  
fall & b  
was th  
and a b  
the frow  
readie  
fozwar  
fice of  
dior, y  
ouer r  
seme  
thus he  
yet wa  
berie  
rence,  
had at  
ding t  
But a  
sear  
some  
ring,  
Godge  
battel  
foze y  
ding  
same  
and L  
A  
the ea  
cie in  
one of  
lord of  
espal  
the ki  
cie su  
etned  
(now  
out of  
was  
main  
due of  
es, pu  
Engl  
sterlin

Curcie depa-  
red this life.  
The descrip-  
tion of Cur-  
cie.

Curcie

Curcie

King John  
came into  
Ireland.

Curcie  
was in En-  
gland.



They fled into France.

They are  
pardoned, and  
put to their  
fines.

1. An hundred  
 2. marks of  
 3. gold.  
 4. Blondus.

: John Bale in  
his apologie  
against heres.

Henrie the  
third.  
warres be-  
twixt Hacie  
and Marshall.  
I 2 2 8  
The Et-  
raldines.

Ch. I. page

e  
id  
e  
ye Currele bitt-  
n: reth displeas-  
e sent wordes a-  
d gainst king  
d John,  
ht  
ic,  
e  
ie He is accused.  
e  
a  
ut  
z, He is prooue  
at med it wroth,  
d.  
re  
jot  
at  
in  
ne  
af  
the  
ne  
m,  
yge He is taken.  
e  
e  
e d

da Translation  
:ke of prebenda-  
the ries to monks.

the  
for  
a

1897 *Chalons*

to a combat mission by certain French

me  
1, a

the Currier and  
the finer taking  
than John.

He taketh upon him to de-

challenge.

Howe Fitz-  
gerald.  
Lucas arch-  
bishop.

1230

1234

The lord  
Weldon.  
Geffrie  
Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of  
Selgath.

Odonill.

John Fitz-  
geffrie lord  
iustice.  
Maline de la  
Zouch lord  
iustice.  
Stephan de  
long Espé.

William Dene  
lord iustice.  
Greene castell  
destroyed.  
Mac Carcie.

1261

Sir Richard  
Capell lord  
iustice.

Lord John  
Fitzthomas  
saine.

The lord in-  
tice taken.

ports the same had borne to their prejudice for a time  
sinisterly misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had  
still bene kept backe, and not rewarded accordyng  
to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth  
made Howe Fitzgerald the sonne of Howe afore-  
said lord chiefe iustice of Ireland. Lucas succeeded  
London in the archbishops see, and was consecrated.  
In the yere one thousand two hundred and thirtie,  
Richard Sparshall was taken prisoner in battell at  
Kildare. Some wyte that he was wounded there, 10  
and within few daies after died of the hurt at Kil-  
kennie, and was buried there in the quere of the  
church of the friers preachers, nere to the place where  
his brother William was interred, who departed  
this life in the yere one thousand two hundred thir-  
tie and one.

In the yere one thousand two hundred fortie and  
one, Walter Lacie lord of Meth departed this life  
in England: he left two daughters behind him that  
were his heires, Margaret married to the lord Wer-  
don, and Matilda the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King  
Henrie in the six & thirtieth yere of his reigne, gaue  
to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Ireland,  
and the countie of Chester. In the yere following,  
Hugh Lacie earle of Ulster departed this life, and  
was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the  
friers minors, leaving a daughter behind him, that  
was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke  
married, and in right of hir was created earle of Ul-  
ster, as after shall appeare. Howe Fitzgerald lord  
iustice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to  
come and assist him with a power of men against the  
Welsh rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in  
the castell of Selgath, which he had latelie builded,  
and then came ouer with Helin Othoner, and a lu-  
cke band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at Chep-  
stow, behaued themselves so valiantlie, that return-  
ing with victorie, they greatlie increased the fauor  
of the king and prince towards them; and upon their  
returne into Ireland, they ioined with Cormacke  
Mac Dermot Mac Roie, and made a notable tour-  
ne against Odonill the Irish enimie, that when La-  
cie was once dead, invaded & sore annoied the kings  
subiects of Ulster. Odonill being vanquished, the  
lord iustice forced pledges and tribute of Dneale to  
keepe the kings peace, and diuerse other exploits  
praise-worthie did he, during the time of his govern-  
ment, as Flatsburie hath gathered in his notes for  
the lord Gerald Fitzgerald earle of Kildare, in the  
yere one thousand five hundred and seuentene. Af-  
ter Howe Fitzgerald succeeded in office of lord ius-  
tice, John Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Maline  
de la Zouch, whome the earle of Surrie Fitzwarren  
sue. And after de la Zouch, in the yere one thousand  
two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and foz-  
tith of Henrie the third his reigne, was Stephan de  
long Espé sent to supplie that come, who sue D-  
neale with thre hundred fiftie & two of his men in  
the streets of Downe, and shortly after departed this  
life; then William Dene was made lord iustice, and  
Greene castell was destroyed. Also Mac Carcie plaid  
the diuell in Desmond. 60

In the yere one thousand two hundred fiftie and  
one, sir William Dene lord iustice of Ireland de-  
ceased, and sir Richard Rochell (or Capell as some  
copies haue) was sent to be lord iustice after him,  
who greatlie enuied the familie of the Geraldins; du-  
ring his gouernement the lord John Fitzthomas  
and the lord Howe his son were slaine. In the yere  
one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, Walter  
de Burgh was made earle of Ulster, and Howe  
Fitzmoyce took the lord iustice of Ireland togither  
with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuerse o-  
ther great lords at Triskildermot, on saint Nicholas

daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the  
Burghs and Geraldins. In the yere one thousand  
two hundred fiftie and six, there chanced an earth-  
quake in Ireland. In the yere following, king Hen-  
rie took by the variance that was in Ireland be-  
twixt the parties, and discharging Wene, appointed  
David Barrie lord iustice in his place, who tamed  
the insolent dealings of Howe Fitzmoyce, couline  
germane to Fitzgerald.

In the yere one thousand two hundred fiftie and  
eight, Conbar Ozen was slaine by Dermot Mac  
Spomer, and Howe Fitzgerald earle of Desmond  
was drowned in the sea, betwixt Wales & Ireland.  
And Robert Woff was sent ouer to remaine lord  
iustice of Ireland, and Barrie was discharged, who  
continued till the yere one thousand two hundred  
fiftie and nine, and then was Richard de Cresser  
made lord iustice. And in the yere following, was  
the lord James Audleie made lord iustice. Richard  
Weldon, and John Weldon were slaine, and Fulke  
archbishop of Dublin deceased. Also the castels of  
Ablecke, Roscoman, & Scheligagh, were destroyed.  
The same yere was a great dearth and mortallitie  
in Ireland. In the yere one thousand two hundred  
seuentie & two, the lord James Audleie was slaine  
by a fall from his horse in Thomond, and then was  
Howe Fitzmoyce made lord iustice of Ireland, and  
the castell of Kandon was destroyed. In the yere  
one thousand two hundred seuentie and two, king  
Henrie the third departed this life, and the lord Wal-  
ter Genuill latelie returned home from his tour-  
nie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and  
made lord iustice there. In the yere one thousand  
two hundred seuentie and siue, the castell of Rosco-  
man was with stones repared and fortified.

In the yere one thousand two hundred seuentie  
and six, there was an ouerthrow giuen at Glenbu-  
rie, where William Fitzroger, prior of the knights  
hospitalers, & manie other with him, were taken pri-  
soners, and a great number of other were slaine. The  
same yere, John de Weldon departed this world,  
and Thomas de Clare married the daughter of Ho-  
rie Fitzmoyce. In the yere following, Robert W-  
off was appointed to supplie the come of Genuill,  
being called home, and so was this Woff the second  
time appointed lord iustice of Ireland. He hauing oc-  
casion to passe into England, made his substitute  
Fulborne bishop of Waterford till his returne, and  
then resumed the gouernement into his owne hands  
again. In the yere one thousand two hundred se-  
uentie and seauen, Thomas de Clare sue Ozmeth  
king of Moethmond: and yet after this the Irish  
closed him by in Sleibant, togither with Maurice  
Fitzmaurice, so that they gaue hostages to escape,  
and the castell of Roscoman was towne. In the yere  
next ensuing, was John de Werington consecrated  
archbishop of Dublin. There was also a councill  
holden at Grenoke, and Mac Dermot sue Cathgar  
Deonthe king of Connagh. In the yere one thou-  
sand two hundred seuentie and nine, Robert Woff  
upon occasion of busines came ouer into England,  
and left sir Fulborne bishop of Waterford to sup-  
plie his come, and Kase Wighard and Ophanlan  
chased Dneale in a battell.

In the yere one thousand two hundred and foure  
score, Robert Woff came the third time to occupie  
the come of lord chiefe iustice in Ireland, relaying  
that come into his hands againe. In the yere fol-  
lowing, the bishop of Waterford was established by  
the king of England lord iustice of Ireland. Adam  
Cusacke the younger sue William Barret, and ma-  
nie other in Connagh. And in the next yere, to wit,  
one thousand two hundred foure score and two, Hen-  
rie sue Murteragh, & his brother Art Mac Murgh at

Howe church  
destroyed.

Donat bishop  
of Dublin.

Strangbow  
same rick  
and by Henrie  
Fitzmoyce.

John  
Audleie.

Wandon.  
The house  
of king Hen-  
rie the first.

Walter Co-  
nill.

1285

John Ham-  
lyn consecra-  
ted archbishop  
of Dublin.

In ouerthrow  
at Rathob.

Howe and  
Fulborne burnt.

1286

1288

Howe  
archbishop of  
Dublin lord  
iustice.

1291

1292

1293

William Wef-  
te lord iustice.

1294

1295

1296

1297

1298

The earle of  
Kildare.

at Athlone,  
and Piers de  
brygh Daria  
the citie  
people of  
zens before  
t priat buildi  
on for repar  
first begun  
by prince of  
time bishop  
of trinitie.

At length  
Stephen, & I  
saint Laure  
successors, I  
and Lucas,  
mished it. My  
was thus de-  
uerse sorts  
to come de-  
fence Henrie  
the likewise  
pell for an o-  
less also a r-  
ronell of t  
that died th-  
rice, as at  
sand two  
chancellor  
this life, an  
iustice of  
In the y  
from Dub  
Theobald  
went tow  
maurice v-  
created arc  
the lord  
get, and  
ber of oth-  
townes a  
the firer  
Also Cal  
1287, di-  
chard de  
Clare, &  
The year  
lord iust-  
shop of  
iustice. I  
Theobald  
with a g-  
Walter

In the  
of Mal  
Caghla  
William  
Mac C-  
die was  
to that  
Edward  
an earl  
ner as  
Scotla  
ted to t  
Willest  
was a  
earle o  
riots a  
and fo  
all ord  
like W  
A

William Wef-  
te lord iustice.

rt the  
usland  
earth.  
hen.  
id be  
into  
amed  
usine

ie and  
: Pac  
mond  
eland.

ie lord  
, who  
nded

cester  
, was  
schar

fulke  
fels of

roied,  
talitie

nded  
laine

n was  
nd, and

peate  
, king

Mal  
four

d, and

ouland  
Kosco

uentie  
lenbu

nights  
ten pri

ine. The

world,

of Ho

ert W

Scnuill,

second

ing oc

stitute

ne, and

ehands

ged sea

rethro

e Irish

aurice

escape,

the pere

ecrated

ouncell

athguc

ne thou

ffort

ngland,

to sup

hanian

id four

occupie

saming

care fol

ished by

Adam

and ma

, to wit,

oo, Pen

Burgh

at

at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Lute departed this life. Also the archbishop of Delington deceased. And about the same time, the cite of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the temple of Christ church utterly destroyed. The citizens before they went about to repare their stone priuat buildings, agreed together to make a collecti on for reparing the ruins of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Cetrus prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat some time bishop of that cite, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

At length Strangbow earle of Denbroke, Fitzstephans, & Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his sours successor, John of Cuesham, Henrie Scottsbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de saint Paule and his nephew, this notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bene beautified in diverse sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbowes house defaced, by the fall of the rose of the church, sir Henrie Sidneie, when he was lord deputie, restored; likewise did cost upon the earle of Kildares chapel for an ornament to the quier, over the which he left also a monument of capteine Randolfe, late colonell of the English bands of footmen in Ulster that died there valiantlie, fighting in his princes service, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and thre, Edmund chancellor of Ireland, and Richard Lute departed this life, and siter Stephan Fulborne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dublin, and died shortly after, and the lord Theobald Weldon lost his men and horses as he went towards Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitzmaurice was taken, and John Samford was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Moreover at Rathod, the lord Cestrete Genuill fled, and sir Gerard Dogget, and Rafe Petit were slaine, with a great number of others. The Porwagh and Ardscoll with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the sixteenth daie of November, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diverse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Richard Decester, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Caffie, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next ensuing, deceased siter Fulborne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Samford archbishop of Dublin was advanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Ulster besieged Theobald Weldon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power unto Trim, by the working of Malster Lacie.

In the yeare 1290, was the chase or discomfiture of Offalie, & diverse Englishmen slaine. Also Pac Coghan slue Omolaghelin king of Meth, and William Burgh was discomfited at Deluin by Pac Coghan. The same yeare 1290, William de Lacie was made lord iustice of Ireland, and entered into that office on St. Martins daie. Into this iustice, Edward Balioll king of Scotland did homage for an earldome which he held in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1291, a sixteenth was granted to the king, of all the temporall goods in Ireland, whilst de Lacie was as yet lord iustice. This de Lacie was a ferne man and full of courage, he called John earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdemeanors, for that he ranged abroad, and sought reuenge upon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for any advancement of the publicke wealth or service of his soueraigne.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe touch

as the iustice to suffer euill doing, answered thus. By your honor and mine (my lord) and by king Edward's hand, for that was accomplished no small oth in those daies among the Irishmen would if you durst approach in a plaine way to treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the deede of Kildare, I wote well how great an esteeme I am in your sight, so that if I might be handsomely trusted by for a fellow, I might as well challenge your sonne by come a gentleman. A gentleman quoth the iustice, thou proud earle: I tell thee, the de Lacies were gentlemen before Kildare was an earldome: and before that de Lacie bankrupt thy cousin fethered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou dardest me, I will surely breake thy heart. And therewith he called the earle a noxious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bracing among the soldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, until either part appealed his owne.

The lord iustice shortly after, leaving his deputy William Hae, took the sea, and hastened ouer to the king. The earle immediatly followed, and as he nould as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For trial hereof, the earle asked the combat, and de Lacie refused not: but yet when the lists were provided, de Lacie was slipt awate into France, and so disherited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were bestowed upon the earle and his heires for ever. The earle baring losse of mind in such prosperous success, squared with diverse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died John Samford archbishop of Dublin, and John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and John de la Mare took prisoners, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and William Burgh within the countie of Meth, and the castell of Kildare was taken, and all the countie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and tallies concerning the records & accompts of that countie. Great dearth and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yeeres next ensuing. The earle of Kildare detained the earle of Ulster prisoner, until by authority of a parlement holden at Bilkennie, he was delivered out of the castell of Leie, for his two sonnes, and for the intiaion which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his baronie and unforbidden parts, was disherited of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Wodingsfels, being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after de Lacie died, in the yeare next following, that is 1295, and the thre and twentieth of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, siter William de Botham was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and sir and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an agreement was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by John Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yeare 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Feringis was consecrated archbishop in his place. The king went unto John Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons unto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote unto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Cestrete de Genuill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Weldon, Piers lord Birmingham of Thetemoie, Cufface lord Polowe, Hugh lord Purcell, John de Cogan, John

1294  
The death of  
the archbishop  
Samford.  
The earle of  
Ulster taken  
prisoner.

Great dearth  
and death.

William de  
Wodingsfels lord  
iustice.

1295  
Thomas  
Fitzmaurice  
lord iustice.

1296  
1298  
Rec. Turris.

1299

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Laffice, Richard de Crecster, John Pipurd, Walter Lersant, John of Drford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Heilbe, William Cadell, John de Hale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelau the first of March. Such a precept I remember I haue read, registered in a close roll among the records of the tower. But where Marlburrow saith, that the said John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seuen & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward, & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforesaid beareth date of the four and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittels, as in close rolles I remember I haue also sene recorded of the seauen and twentieth and thirtieth yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which should seme to be collected out of Flacburie, whom Campion so much followed, that in the yere 1301, the lord John Wogan lord iustice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Colme. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Pontfort, and the lord John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Wexon married the daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the towne of Wicklow and Rathdon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, losing the most part of their prouision and cattell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had bene utterly destroyed, if discord and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purpose enterpises.

In harvest there were three hundred cheues slaine by the Hyelans. Also Walter le Poter wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yere 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall livings in England and Ireland, for the space of three yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yere 1303, the earle of Ulster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Custace le Poter, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made three and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwarde. The same yere Gerald, sonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Ulster. William de Mellesle, and sir Robert de Persuall were slaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yere 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casuall fire. In the yere next ensuing, Jordanie Comin with his complices slue Maricagh Conbur king of Ossalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Wexford was slaine by the Irishmen, nere to the farme

of Desmond de Grace, which Desmond bare himselfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

In the yere 1306 a great slaughter was made in Ossalie nere to the castell of Geshill, the thirtieth daie of Aprill upon Conbur and his friends by the Dempsies, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Abzen king of Desmond was slaine. Moreover, Donald Oge Mac Arthle slue Donald Kulle king of Desmond. And upon the twelue of Maie in the confines of Meth, a great onerthow chanced to the side of the lord Piers Butler, and Ballmoze in Leinster was burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Cesse was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great armie was called together forth of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restrain the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iourne sir Thomas Gandevill knight entered into a condict with the Irish nere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfullie, till his horse was slaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saued both himselfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocke, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie bene sene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the day of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succeeded Richard de Hauering, who after he had continued in that see about a fine yeares, resigned it ouer by dispensation obtained from Rome, and then his nephew John Lech was admitted archbishop there.

In the yere 1307 the first of Aprill, Murcon Ballagh was beheaded nere to Merton by sir Dauid Cauntoun knight, and shortly after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell vpon the Englishmen in Connagh by the Mcheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Ossalie raised the castell of Geshill, and in the vigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the first of Iulie, they burnt the towne of Leie and besieged the castell: but they were constrained to depart from thence shortly after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remove that siege. In the yere 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seuenth of Iulie.

### Edward the second.

**R**ichard archbishop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that see the space of fine yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sleepe, feeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as seemed convenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe keeping. The profession of these Templers began at Jerusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell nere to the temple, who till the counsell of Troia in France were not increased aboue the number of nine, but from that time forth in little more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all chri-

stian realir with living their maintained vn knights of merable selues, the pose of the of horrible otherwise cell at A. l. lings trau wise calle spalla. I mitting to upon one themselfe

For fir thiriffe w ing them l scribed nu dit, on wh assemble twit, the li of the san daie, to eri nie other i riffe of P to foure a men to n folke and : at Thetfo: to them so to meet th named. I ster the fil this king toit was uer the sai that he th put the sa stance ol nie of the Templer seize all th hands, ar dented bi place, wh other, ant bours th with him seizure, a said wat cattels t that the q vnto, ant and to ca to be so d committ maine ir owne ho accozdin otherwis what is d morow cond wor ber. Whi Wogan that ho hension and good ble man and plac was left

Chr. Pembrig.

1301  
Irishmen in-  
uade Scot-  
land.

Walter  
Potter.  
1302

1303  
The earle  
of Ulster.

1304

1306  
The king  
of Desmond  
was slaine.

1307  
The lord  
Butler was  
burnt.

1308  
Warre in  
Leinster.

The lord  
chancellor  
of Ireland,  
Thomas  
Caucocke,  
was consecrated  
bishop of  
Imaleie.

The arch-  
bishop of  
Dublin  
deceased.

1307

A discom-  
fiture in  
Connagh.

1301

1300  
The order  
of the Tem-  
plars  
suppressed.

man realmes, they had houses erected euerie there, with linings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented into the number of three hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferiour brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they so forgot themselves, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being accused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the council at Lyons in France condemned, and their linings transposed to the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places upon one daie, that they had no time to flie for themselves.

For first, the king sent forth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their romes to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certaine towne named in the same writ, the sūndae next after the Epiphanie, & that eu of the same shiriffes failed not to be there the same daie, to execute all that should be intained them by any other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The shiriffe of Dorset was commanded to giue summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to meet him at Dorset. The shiriffe of Dorset folke and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Thetford. The other shiriffes were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fourtene, to meet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fifteenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the seconds reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliuer the same writ, and to take an oth of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vse, all the Templers within the precinct of his rōme, and to seize all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inuentarie of the same indented be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or any other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seizure, and leaving the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe keeping, and to provide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked vnto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodies of the Templers attached, to be so detained in all safetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streit prison, but to remaine in some convenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the goods so seized accordingly as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandement from the king: and what is done herein, to certifie into the archbisher the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Wilet the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifieng vnto him what should be done in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the daie and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and trea-

suroz of the archbisher there, but so, as the same might be done before any rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandement was sent vnto John de Bataine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Custace Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Aldighleigh alias Auderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Templers. What now to other doings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308, the firste of April, deceased Peter de Birmingham a noble warrior, and one that had bene no small scourge to the Irish. The eleuenth of Maie the castell of Bennun was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in keeping were slaine by William Macbalther, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courconlie was burnt by the same malefactors. And the first of June, John lord Wogan lord iustice was discomfited nere to Glindelozie, where John de S. Hogelin, John Porton, John Berton, and manie other were slaine. The firste tenth of June, Dunloun, Cobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, John Decer maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the brydge ouer the Liffie towards S. Wilsons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minozs, where he was buried, repared the church of the friers preachers, and euerie fridaie tabled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie his rōme, vnto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueson, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the nauistie of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the comodities roiall of that realme, which bred some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and the said Gaueson, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Oremplie, subdued Obzen, edified sundrie castels, cauesies, and brydges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maie appeare.

In the bigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Mortimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the seigniorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was sonne to the lord Gesteire Genuill, which Gesteire became a frier at Crim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Mortimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was slaine nere to the towne of Ardscoil, by the lord Arnold Polowe and his complices, his bodie was buried at Ashie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Polowe was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, or (as some booke haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerse whole some lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about their iurisdiccions, namelie the bishop of Dublin forbad the primate of Armagh to raise his crozier within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joyce the primate sle by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the prairie of Grace Dien, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocesse. This bishop was named John a Leekes, and was consecrated G. ij.

1308

This Macbalther was after hanged at Dublin. The lord iustice discomfited.

1308

John Decer maior of Dublin.

Burgh.

Piers Gaueson sent into Ireland.

Lord Roger Mortimer.

1309

Lord John Bonneuill slaine.

1310

A parlement at Kilkennie, Campion.

1311

1304  
The discomfiture of the Irish.

1304  
The burning of the Irish.

1304  
The lord iustice discomfited.

1304  
The archbishop of Dublin deposed.

1307

1307  
The discomfiture in Connagh.

1308

1300  
The order of the Templers suppressed.



Sir Richard de Clare.

John Lacie  
knight.

1312  
Robert Werten  
don raised a  
riotous tur-  
mult.  
John Wogan  
lord justice.

1313  
Campion.

The earle of  
Ulster's sonne  
and heire de-  
ceased.

1314

1315  
Edward Bruce in-  
vaded Ireland.

Captains of  
name with  
Bruce.

Dundalk taken and burnt

Edmund  
Butler lord  
justice.

not long before he kept this furre. Richard earle of Ulster with a great armie came to Wexford in Thomond, whereas sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his power, took sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some booke have) the earle himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelfth of November this yere, Richard de Clare slue sir hundred Galloglasses, and John Spogoghedan was slaine by Omolmoie. Also Donat Abzen was murdered by his owne men in Thomond.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot in Argille by Robert Werten, for the appealing ther of an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord chiefe iustice in the beginning of Julie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Koch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Werten, and many of his complices came and submitted themselves to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made deputie iustice under the lord John Wogan, who in the Lent next ensuing besieged the Wyens in Glindelow, and compelled them to yeld themselves to the kings peace. Also in the yere abovesaid 1312, Patrick Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Ulster at Grene castell, and Thomas Fitzjohn married an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second marriage was kept the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Bruce overthrew the castell of Span, and took the lord Donegan and will on saint Barnabies daie.

In the yere 1313, John a Laches archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and division of sides two successors, Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor, and Alexander Bignoz treasurer of Ireland. The chancellor to strengthen his election, hastie went to sea, and together with an hundred and fiftie and sir persons perished by shipwacke. The other submitting his cause to the processe of law, taried at home and sped. Moreover, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Galbie on the feast daie of saint Sparcell & Sparcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being fundate. The knights hospitalers of saint Johns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yere was the lord Theobald Werten sent lord iustice into Ireland.

In the ninth yere of king Edwards reigne, Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with sir thousand men. There were with him diuerse captains of high renoume among the Scottish nation, of whom the chiefe were these: the earles of Purrie and Mentieth, the lord John Steward, the lord John Campbell, the lord Thomas Randalfe, Fergus de Andzeffan, John Wood, and John Bisset. They landed nere to Cragfergus in Ulster the five & twentieth of Maie, and joining with the Irish, conquered the earle dome of Ulster, and gaue the English there diuerse great overthrowes, took the towne of Dundalk, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Argille: they burnt churches & abbies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler chosen lord iustice, who made the earle of Ulster and the Geraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir John Pandeuill, thus seeking to preserve the residue

of the realme which Edward Bruce meant whole to conquer, having caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great power out of Spounster, and Leinster, and other parts therabouts, and the earle of Ulster with another armie came unto him nere unto Dundalk, where they consulted together how to deale in defending the countrie against the enemies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawne backe, the earle of Ulster solowed them, and fighting with them at Coiners, he lost the field.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earls brother, sir John Pandeuill, and sir Alan Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Herewith the Irish of Connagh and Menth began forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Randon. And the Bruce comming forward burnt Kenlis in Menth, and Granard, also Finnagh, and Melwastell, and kept his Christmas at Loughfudle. From thence he went through the countrie unto Rathmegan and Biltare, and to the parties about Trillemot and Athie, then to Raban Sketlier and nere to Ardskoll in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Potoye, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Spounster came to encounter the Bruce: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field unto the enemies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Helmond le Grace a right ballant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus Andzeffan and sir Walter Purrie, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the friers preachers at Athie.

After this the Bruce in his returne towards Menth burnt the castell of Leir, and so passed forth till he came to Kenlis in Menth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might overthrowe the enemies, called forth sixtine thousand men, and understanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there encountering with them, was put to the worse, his men (as was supposed) willfullie shynking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this overthrow, upstart the Irish of Spounster, the Menthles, Abzens, Dmozes, and with fire and sword wasted all from Arclow to Leir. With them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourscore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

In tyme of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their loiall obeisance towards him, being their soveraigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas lord of Offalle, Richard de Clare, Porice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzjohn le Polver baron of Donoille, Arnold le Power, Porice de Kochford, Dauid de la Koch, and Miles de la Koch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the iniurious attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserable afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were overthrowne in diuerse particular combats. But yet to the further scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose four princes of Connagh, but the Burghes

The great over-  
throw.

The king of  
Connagh  
slaine.

Shelle slaine.

Sir Thomas  
Pandeuill  
slaine.

Assurance  
given by the  
lords of Ire-  
land for their  
loialtie.

Burghes and Berminghams discomfited them, and slue eleven thousand of them beside Athenrie. Amongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmicus, Deonhur king of Connagh, Dkellie, and diuerse other great lords and capitains of Connagh and Metch. The lord Richard Bermingham had an esquire that belonged to him called John Husleie, who by the commandement of his maister went forth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring him word whether Dkellie his mortall fo were slaine among the residue. Husleie comming into the field with one man to freight espied by Dkellie, that late lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing had good pwoof of Husleie his ballancie before that time, longed soze to traine him from his captelme; and presuming now upon his good oportunitie, discovered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win him with courteous persuasions, or by force to worke his will of him, and so comming to him said: Husleie, thou self that I am at all points armed, & haue mante esquire here likewise furnished with armour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art naked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare thee for thine owne sake, I might now do with thee what I would, and slea thee for thy maisters sake. But come & serue me upon this request here made to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patricks staffe to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these wordes might nothing moue him, his owne man (a great stout labber) began to reprove him of follie, for not consenting to so large an offer, which was assured with an oth, whereupon he durst gage his soule for performance.

John had Husleie these enemies, and first therefore turning to his knave, he dispatched him. Next he raught unto Dkellies esquire such a knocke vnder the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground and there he laie. Thirde, he laid so about him, that per anie helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine Dkellie, and perceiving the esquire to be but assisted he recovered him, and holpe him vp againe, and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he forced him upon a truncheon, to beare his lords head in to the high towne before him, who did so; and Husleie presented it to Bermingham, who after the circumstances declared, he dubbed Husleie knight, advancing him to manie preferments. The successors of that familie afterwards were barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Spandeuill and others in this meane while made oftentimes enterpises against the Scots, and slue diuerse of them in sundrie combats. But howsoever it chanced, we find recorded by Henrie Marleburgh, that either the said Sir Thomas Spandeuill (that thus ballantlie behaved himselfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the same name, and his brother also called John Spandeuill were both slaine shortly after at Downe, upon their comming forth of England, by the Scots that were readie there to assaile them.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights, which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king of England, sought by all waies and meanes how to beat backe the enemies: which they might haue done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sundrie parts of the countrie; who neuertheless were oftentimes well chastised for their disloiall dealings, as partly we haue touched; although we omit diuerse small ouerthrowes and other particular matters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilist the Scots were thus holden vp in Ireland, that they could not in all things worke their wills, Robert le Bruce king of Scots came ouer himselfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother, whose souldiours most wickedlie entred into churches, spoiling and defacing the same of all such tomes, monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which they found, and might laie hands vpon.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had bene stricte besieged a long time, was surrendered to the Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and right Scots (as some write) which they had taken prisoners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ulster departed this life. And on the sondaie next after the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord John Fitzthomas deceased at Laragh Wyne nere to Spalmoth, and was buried at Bilsdare, in the church of the friers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little before his death, was created earle of Bilsdare; after thome succeeded his sonne Thomas Fitzthomas a right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mac Nele, & slue hundred Irishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh, and lord Richard Bermingham in Connagh. Also on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset slue a great number of Scots, among the which were one hundred with double armors, and two hundred with single armors: so that of their men of armes there died three hundred beside footemen.

The fiftenth of Nouember chanced a great tempest of wind and raine, which threwe downe manie houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water. On the first of December, sir Alane Steward that had bene taken prisoner in Ulster by John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanour, for that they were accused to haue procured the Scots to come into Ireland: but by that inquest they were discharged, and therewith toke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to destroie the Scots to the uttermost of their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thousand armed men: and with them came the armie of Ulster, destroing all the countrie before them. Moreouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Matthias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the abbey of S. Marie nere to Dublin, Robert Pottingham maior of that citie, with the communalitie of the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin, slue seuen of his men, and spoiled the abbey.

The same weeke, Edward Bruce marched towards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell of Inoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tirrell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ransomed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege, and made the best purueiance they could to defend their citie, if the Bruce had come to haue besieged them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the towne of Paas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, contrarie to their oth. From thence he passed vnto Trilfeldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to the lord iustice lamentable informations of such crueltie as the enemies practised in those parts, beseeching him to take some order for their reliefe in that their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered

Campion,  
1316  
The king of  
Scots in  
Ireland.

Cragfergus  
delivered up  
to the Scots.

Spencaten.

John Fitz  
thomas the  
first earle of  
Bilsdare de  
ceased.

Scots ones  
throwne.

A great tem  
pest.

1317

The earle of  
Ulster appea  
bended.

Hugh Tir  
rell taken by  
the Scots.

Dkellie slaine.

the lord  
optinest  
comfited  
the Scots

Sir Thomas  
Spandeuill  
slaine.

Warre g  
n by the  
do of  
id for them  
allie.

The kings  
standard be-  
lieved to  
them of Ul-  
ster.

to them the kings power with his standard, where  
with under pretense to expell the Scots, they got up  
in armes, and ranging through the countrie, did  
more here and molest the subiects, than did the stran-  
gers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Castells,  
& wherefoever they lighted upon the Butlers lands,  
they burnt and spoiled them unmercifullie.

Roger Mo-  
ti mer iustice  
of Ireland.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Tho-  
mas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare,  
and Arnold le Botz baron of Donnoill leited an  
armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against  
the enimies, and to giue them battell, but no good  
was done. For about the same time the lord Roger  
Mortimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and  
landing at Poghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord  
Butler, & to the other capitaine, willing them not to  
fight till he came with such power as he had brought  
ouer with him. Whereof the Butle being warned,  
retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he  
came within foure miles of Trim, where he late in a  
wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and  
so at length about the beginning of Maie he retur-  
ned into Ulster.

Slaughter of  
Irishmen.

1317  
The earle of  
Ulster deliue-  
red out of pri-  
son.

Heardie of  
vittels in  
Ulster.

The earle of  
Ulster deliue-  
red.

Great dearth.

Sir Hugh  
Croftes slaine.

The Lacies  
recuolt to the  
Scots.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter  
of the Irish nere to Trillemot, and likewise at  
Walsham he had a good hand of Omozy, and slue  
manie of his men. The lord Mortimer pacified the  
displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of  
Ulster, and the nobles that had put the said earle un-  
der safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accu-  
sing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice  
and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots in-  
creased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of  
the countrie caused such horrible scarcitie in Ulster,  
that the soldiors which the yeare before abused the  
kings authoritie, to pursue themselves of ouer fine  
diet, surfetted with flesh and *Aquavita* all the Lent  
long, pilled and pilled insatiablie wherefoever they  
came without need, and without regard of the poore  
people, whose onelie prouision they deuoured. These  
people now lining in slaerie vnder the Butle, star-  
ued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie la-  
mentable thists, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

The earle of Ulster was deliuered by maine  
prise and upon his oth, by the which he undertooke ne-  
uer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise  
than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto  
the feast of the natiuitie of saint John baptist: but he  
kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to  
stand in triall of his cause, or through some other rea-  
sonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeare  
afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat  
called a choncke was sold at foure and twentie  
shillings, & a choncke of otes at sixtene shillings,  
and all other vittels likewise were sold according to  
the same rate: for all the whole countrie was soze wa-  
shed by the Scots and them of Ulster, insomuch that  
no small number of people perished through famine.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mo-  
timer toke his iourne towards Drogheda, and sent  
to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him,  
but they refused so to do. Whereupon he sent sir Hugh  
Croftes vnto them, to talke with them about some a-  
greement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for  
whome great lamentation was made, for that he  
was reputed & knowne to be a right worthy knight.  
The lord iustice soe offended herewith, gathereth an  
armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased  
out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to  
Ulster, & there iouined himselfe with Edward Butle.  
Whereupon, on the thursdaie next before the feast of  
saint Margarett, the said Hugh Lacie and also Wal-  
ter Lacie were proclaimed traitors. This yeare pal-

sed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ire-  
land, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties  
enimies one to another, as by dearth and other mis-  
fortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his  
bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt  
the towne of Paas and castell Sparten. Also in the  
feast of the purification, the popes bulles were publi-  
shed, whereby Alexander Bignoz was consecrated  
archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was  
great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quar-  
rell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that  
there died in fight to the number of foure thousand  
men on both parties.

After Easter Walter Mep treasurer of Ireland  
was sent ouer into that realme, who brought let-  
ters to the lord Mortimer, commanding him to re-  
turne into England vnto the king: which he did, and  
departing south of Ireland, remained indebted to  
the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of vittels in  
the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not  
one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried  
with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of  
Castell lord chancelor gouernor of the land in his  
place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop  
both chancelor and iustice, and so continued till the  
feast of saint Michael. At what time Alexander Bignoz  
archbishop of Dublin arrived at Poghall, being  
constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint  
Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But  
here is to be remembred, that a little before the de-  
parture of the lord Mortimer south of Ireland, to  
wit, the first of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with  
foure knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de  
Paas, sir James Cauntton, and sir John Cauntton;  
also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of  
foure score persons) were slaine by Owen and Mac  
Arthie. It was said that the enimies in despite cau-  
sed the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peces, so to  
satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pec-  
ces were yet afterwards buried in the church of the  
friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mo-  
timer returned into England, John Lacie was had  
south of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim,  
where he was arreigned and aduoged to be pressed  
to death, and so he died in prison.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of  
Bignozs gouernment. Immediately vpon his ar-  
riual, the lord John Birmingham being generall of  
the field, and hauing with him diuerse capitaine of  
worthy fame, namelie sir Richard Tute, sir Miles  
Werdon, sir Hugh Cripetton, sir Herbert Sutton,  
sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir  
William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the  
primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Palle, and  
John Paupas led forth the kings power, to the num-  
ber of one thousand three hundred foure and twentie  
able men against Edward Butle, who being accom-  
panied with the lord Philip Potwylate, the lord Wal-  
ter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his  
three brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert,  
and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped  
not past two miles from Dundalke with three thou-  
sand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight  
with them if they came forward: which they did with  
all conuenient speed, being as desirous to giue bat-  
tell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompanie  
eng the English power, & blessing their enterprise,  
gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he  
thought serued the time yer they began to incoun-  
ter. And herewith buckling together, at length the  
Scots fullie and whole were banquished, and two  
thousand of them slaine, together with their capitaine  
Edward Butle. Paupas that pressed into the  
throng

Bignoz was  
created arch-  
bishop of Du-  
blin.

The lord St-  
ward de  
Clare slaine.

The lord  
Birmingham  
and other  
captaine es-  
corted the  
Scots.

The primat  
of Armagh.

The battle of  
Armagh.

The Scots  
banquished  
Edward Butle.

Birmingham  
made earle of  
Louth.  
Sir Richard  
de Clare  
slaine.

1310  
The earle of  
Kildare lord  
iustice.  
Andrew Bignoz  
created arch-  
bishop of  
Dublin.

Rec. Turris.

1311

1312

1313  
John Darcie  
iustice.

thor-  
was  
bodi  
sain  
king  
the h  
hath  
king  
his b  
baro  
gene  
with  
men  
ger &  
as lo  
tow  
lord:  
thom  
lin to  
3  
thre  
yeare  
earle  
were  
Alex:  
John  
tute  
his su  
nitie  
were  
a  
one d  
of sai  
vniue  
ment  
nie th  
of tin  
of mo  
A  
in a p  
netic  
ereate  
the sa  
and ar  
also,  
follow  
A wor  
But u  
and of  
clspall.  
In  
and or  
Don  
ster ar  
Louth  
whiled  
ding by  
the Tr  
thre h  
and sir  
aketon  
was to  
men of  
ted to  
that tin  
date of  
yeare o  
diuerse  
lord Kl  
ler, an  
lord Al  
Lond u  
of king  
Darcie

strong to encounter with Bruce hand to hand, was found in the searthy dead aloft upon the flaine bodie of Bruce. The viscount thus obtained upon saint Calistus daie, made an end of the Scottish kingdome in Ireland, & lord Wirmingham sending the head of Bruce into England, as Marlborrow hath being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gaue to him and his heires males the earledome of Louth, and the baronie of Arich and Athenrie to him and his heires generall for ever. Shortly after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as lord iustice there now the second time, and the townes of Athell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the brydge of Kilkennie was builded by Maurice Jakis.

In the peare following, to wit, one thousand three hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth peare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin sent to pope John the two and twentieth, for a priuilege to institute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and his sute toke effect: and the first three doctors of diuinitie did the said archbishop himselfe create, William Harditie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogio a frier minor, and frier Edmund Bernerden: and beside these one doctor of canonlaw, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patricks that was chancelor of the same vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commentements solemnlie: neither was this vniuersitie at a nie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissolving of monasteries bitterlie decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilist sir Henrie Sidne was the quenes lieutenant, to haue it againe created, by waie of contributions to be laid together: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised, A towthie plantation of Plantagenet & Wallogne. But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

In the peare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Oconburs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And John Wirmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Vnto this man, whilist he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of the Trinitie, in the sixteenth peare of his reigne, with three hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloves of mail, which number was to be leuted in that land: besides three hundred men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appointed to ferue within that iourne, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of April. In the peare one thousand three hundred twentie and two, diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Wirmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Versuall. Moreover, the lord Anbeto Wirmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by Dnolan. In the eighteenth peare of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John Parcie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the

kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the diocesse of Ossorie the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the bishop ascited to purge hir selfe of the same of inchantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to one Petronill and Basil hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called Robin Artisson, to whome she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eies. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these wordes:

To the house of William my sonne,  
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first consultation they abjured & did penance, but shortly after they were found in relapse, & then was Pentrouill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their forceries, whome the bishop held in durance nine weeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le Potwze then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop, so that he thrust him into prison for three moneths. In rifling the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in steed of Iesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith she greased a staffe, vpon the which she ambled and galloped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what manner she list. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be vnderstood what became of hir. In the peare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, a last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

### Edward the third.

**V**erth was the businesse about the witches at an erd, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Stoules in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinatelie the incarnation of our saulor, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostollike erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Pacmorch, and sir Henrie Traberne were taken prisoners. In the peare following, the lord Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Potwze & William earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of barbaunce that chanced to rise betwixt the Geraldins, the Butlers, and Wirminghams, on the one side; and the Potwzes & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parliament, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresie.

The bishop of Ossorie had giuen an information against Arnold le Potwze, contuented & consulted in his

The ladie Alice Kettle accused of forceries.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

The prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

Arnold Potwze contuented of heresie.

1318

Signoz conuicted archbishop of Dublin.

alter Fitzthomas earle of Ireland.

Wirmingham made earle of Louth.

1319

1320 The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

John Bignoz created archbishop of Dublin.

The lord Richard de Clare slaine.

The lord Wirmingham and other captiues against the Scots.

1321

Earl of Louth.

The priuie of Wirmingham.

The battell of Wirmingham. The Scots vanquished. Edward Bruce slaine.

1322

John Parcie lord iustice.

his confessorie of certeine hereticall opinions, but because the beginning of Powys accusation concerned the iustices kinman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a date was limited for the iustiffing of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parcell: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspense, he intreated the said prior as an abbetor and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the triall, and thereupon were severall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. When passed a decree by the councell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Cork, Limerike, Waterford, and Droghebagh, the shirifs, knights, & 10 neshals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons as foresaid singulartie one by one, found that with an vnuerfall consent they depoted for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull childe of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnolds Powye the prisoner deceased in the castell, & because he stood unpurged, long he late buried.

1329  
The earle of Louth slain.

The lord Butler slain.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, John de Birmingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were slain on Whitsun euen at Balibagan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slain by Mac Cogoghdan & other Irishmen nere to Spolinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Meth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Dounster vnder the leading of Dizen, whom William earle of Ulster and James earle of Desmond vanquished. So outrageous were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding stricken with their saues, lins, spurned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (maters of no small consideration among them namely in those daies) but maliciously perseuered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Wexford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest fleeing were all drenched in the water of Slane. In the yeare one thousand three hundred and thirtie, the earle of Ulster with a great armie made a tourne against Dizen, and the prior of Kilmannan lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalsee, out of the which he seldie escaped, and the lord Hugh Lucie returned into Ireland, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

1330  
The prior of Kilmannan lord iustice.

1331

Anthony Lucie lord iustice.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Ulster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Dkenlie. Also the castell of Arco was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Cowlagh by Osohell and others. Also the lord Anthony Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Murlis by the knights of the countrie, & at Firinath in Meth, there were manie of them slain by the English; but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the as-

sumption of our ladie, which falleth on the sixteenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreover, the lord iustice took sir William Birmingham at Clonmell by a wile, whilost he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Birmingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtieth of April. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was within 10 ders.

The earle of Desmond captured.

1332  
William Birmingham executed.

Campion following such notes as he hath scene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chanced in time of the gouernement of William Durlaw prior of Kilmannan, being lieutenant vnto John lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Champion hath noted) in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although Marlbrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome sooner Birmingham was executed, he was accounted an ob knight, and such a one as for his valiance, his match was not lightlie to be ante where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroyed by the Irish of Thomond. Also Henrie de Handeuill was taken and sent prisoner to be safelie kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his bretheren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Ulster, and sent to the castell of Roxburgh.

Campion

1336

1337  
Sir John Charlton iustice.

1338  
The bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1340  
John Darcie lord iustice during life.

Calling in of liberties.

This yeare the lord Antonie Lucie was discharged of his ronne by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord John Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Bzen Dizen, and Pac Artlie in Dounster, by the English of that countrie. This John Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Baliogarte, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Glo. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and took part with Philip de Valois the kings enemie, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parliament holden at Dublin in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king; and William erls of Ulster a yong gentleman of twentie peares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the seauenth of June, was slain nere to the fords in Ulster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord Lionell the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind her that was his heire, married to Roger Spottimer earle of March, and lord of Trim.

The lord Darcie iustice

The earle of Glo.

1333  
Parliament.

Articles of questions.

This murder was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Spandeuill, who was the first that presumed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Ulster (slaine as yee haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Ulster, to pursue those that through Spandeuills seditious tumults had so traitorously murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Ulster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warre against the Scots that were enemies at

The earle of Ulster slain.

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The lord iustice Darcie.

1343  
The earle of Ulster lord iustice.

The countie of Ulster.



at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so what by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in maner wholie conquered, and Edward Balioll was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Isles if they had bene worth the keeping: into the which Isles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Sufter late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernour at anie time yet aduentured. At Darcies coming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

In the yeare 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirde reigne, on St. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancelor, and John Kice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen souldiours. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and hostlie brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the thirde reigne, which king abused by euill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet rofall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoever had bene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This reuoking of liberties was displeasing to the Irish, and the English of birth and the English of blood falling at wordes, were diuided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was enen upon the point to glue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselves together at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certeine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifying in the same parcell their graces. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

1 How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both vnskillfull and vnable in all warlike seruice?

2 How an officer vnder the king, that entered herie poze, might in one yeare grow to more excessiue wealth, than men of great patrimonie and liuelihod in manie yeares?

3 How it chanced, that sith they were all called lords of their owne, that the soueraigne lord of them all was not a pennie the richer for them?

The cheefe of them that thus seemed to repine with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie bene sene, that such contrarietie in minds and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at anie time before. Wherewith Rafe Alfot was sent ouer lord iustice, who bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Ulster arrived about the thirtieth of Iulie. This man was verie rigorous, and through perswasion (as was said) of his wife, he was more extreme and couetous than otherwise he would haue bene, a matter not to be forgotten. For if this ladie had bene as ready to moue hir husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle

and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to pricke him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, she had bene now aduall reported of, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registered the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Alfot lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seventh of Iune. And because the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Spounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilest he yet remained in Spounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprise of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Ulster, James Butler earle of Desmond, Richard Cate, Nicholas Weldon, Iohanne Rochford, Eustace le Poloye, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert Poloye, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgiralde, John Welleleie, Walter le Fant, Richard Kelleleie, Henrie Traherne, Roger Poloye, John Lefant, Roger Poloye, Matthew Fitzhenrie, Richard Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Ulster, knights: David Barrie, William Fitzgiralde, Foulke de Frarinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henrie Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Koch, Thomas de Lees de Burgh. These (as ye haue heard) were bound for the earle. And because he made default, the lord iustice verelie took the aduantage of the bond against the mainpernours, four of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But trulie if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law and reason required. For if euerie suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forborne, that otherwise doth his suertie, what care would men haue either to procure suerties or to become suerties themselves? But such is the affection of writers, specially when they haue conceiued anie misliking towards those of whom they take occasion to speake, so as manie a worthy man hath bene defamed, and with slander greatlie defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yeare, benefices were made, and great toy shewed through all the realme of Ireland. His ladie verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and byberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Ulster. Robert Darcie was ordeined iustice by the counsell till the kings letters came to sir John Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in duerance by Alfot at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that come, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allowed towards his expenses there twenty shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which countesse shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuerse lords, knights, and chosen hoisemen, serued the king at Calis,

The earle of Desmond.

Suerties for the earle of Desmond.

Fole conceiued for the death of the lord iustice Alfot.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice John Fitzmaurice iustice L. Birmingham iustice.

he earle of Desmond apointed.

1332 William Burghom iustice.

ampion.

1336

1337 Sir John Charleton iustice.

1338 The bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1340 John Darcie lord iustice.

Calling in of thames.

The lord Darcie iustice

The earle of Ew.

1333 Parliament.

Articles of questions.

The earle of Ulster daime.

Sir Thomas Burgh.

The lord iustice iustice in maner Scotland.

# The Chronicles of Ireland.

72

1347  
Record. Tur.

1348  
The prior of  
Kilmannan.  
Baron Car-  
rew justice.  
Sir Tho-  
mas Rokel-  
bie justice.  
Record. Tur.

1349

John de S.  
Paule arch-  
bishop of  
Dublin.

1350  
Kenwyshe  
Shereman.

Sir Robert  
Sauage.

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned af-  
ter the winning thereof in great pompe and iollitie.  
We find that Thomas Berkeleie, and Reinold  
lord Cobham, and sir Doxice Berkleie became  
mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that  
he should come into England, and abide such triall  
as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kil-  
mainan was substituted lieutenant to the lord iu-  
stice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after  
Carew followed sir Thomas Rokelbie knight, unto  
whom was assigned about his ordinarie retinue of  
twenty men of armes, a supplie of ten men of  
armes, and twentie archers on horsebacke, so long  
as it should be thought needfull. Great mortalitie  
chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so  
espericallie in places about the seacoasts of England  
and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this  
life Alexander Bigno, archbishop of Dublin. And  
the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecra-  
ted archbishop of that see. This yeare deceased Ken-  
wyshe Shereman sometime maior of Dublin, a great  
benefactor to euerie church and religious house with-  
in twentie miles round about the citie. His legacies  
to the poore and others, beside his liberalitie shewed  
in his life time, amounted to thre thousand marks.  
In this season dwelled in Ulster a welthie knight  
one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preferue  
his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor hou-  
ses with castels and piles against the Irish enimie,  
exhorting his heire Henrie Sauage to applie that  
work to benefitall for himselfe & his posteritie. Fa-  
ther (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the prouerbe  
Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where  
strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe  
vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber my  
selfe with dead walles. For I shall be where fouer  
yong blouds be stirring, & where I find come to  
fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and for-  
swore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the  
want thereof and such like hath bene the decal as  
well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentle-  
men in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes  
is one of the principall occasions of the rude wild-  
nesse in other parts of Ireland.  
This Sauage, hauing prepared an armie against  
the Irish, allowed to euerie souldier before they  
should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of  
*Aqua vite*, wine, or old ale, and killed in prouision for  
their returne, beefe, venison, and fowls, great plen-  
tie: which doings diuerse of his captains mistook,  
because they considered the successe of warre to be  
uncertaine, and therefore esteemed it better policie  
to poison the gates, or to doe them awaie, than to  
keepe the same; and hapilie to sed a sort of rogues  
with such princelie food, if ought should happen to  
themselves in this aduenture of so seip against so  
manie. Herat smiled the gentleman and said, Tush  
ye are too full of enuie: this world is but an in, to the  
which ye haue no speciall interest, but are onelie te-  
nants at will of the Lord. If it please him to com-  
mand vs from it as it were from our lodging, and  
to set other god fellows in our rooms, what hurt  
shall it be for vs to leaue them some meat for their  
suppers? Let them barollie win it & weare it. If they  
enter our dwellings, god manner would no lesse but  
to welcome them with such fare as the countrie bræ-  
deth, and with all my heart much god may it doe  
them. For notwithstanding I presume so far upon your  
noble courages, that berkle my mind giueth me we  
shall returne at night, & banket our selues with our  
owne store. And so did, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.  
In the yeare 1355 deceased Maurice Fitztho-  
mas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who  
had that office of the kings grant for terme of life.

1355  
The earle of  
Desmond

After him succeeded in that same Thomas de Ro-  
kelbie, a knight, sincere and tynght of conserce,  
who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be ser-  
ued in traene cups, answered: These homilie cups &  
dishes paie trulie for that they contene: I had ra-  
ther drinke out of traene cups & paie gold and silver,  
than drinke out of gold & make woddren payment.  
This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard  
Kase priat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging  
friars, which ended at length by the deaths of the said  
Richard Kase, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare  
1360: Kase deceasing in the popes court, and Kil-  
minton in England. Almerike de S. Amand, John  
or (as other haue) James Butler earle of Winton,  
and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, were ap-  
pointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In W-  
monds time, and in the thre and twentith yeare of  
king Edward the thirde reigne, order was taken  
that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in  
their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects  
from inuasions of enimies. And further, proclama-  
tion went forth, that no mére Irish borne should be  
made maior, bailiffe, porter, officer, or minister in  
anie towne or place within the English dominions:  
nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other  
being of the kings allegiance, upon forfeiture of all  
that he might forseit, should aduance anie that was  
mére Irish borne to the rone of a canon, or to haue  
anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that laie among  
the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Kildare, when he  
was ordered lord iustice, the kings letters assigned  
in yearelie fee for his office 500 pounds, with condi-  
tion, that the said gournour should find twentie  
great horses to serue in the field, he himselfe to be  
the twentith man in going against the enimie: which  
allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as  
I can gesse) should seme to be ordinarie to the office.  
Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward  
the thirde, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice  
there, and was in right of his wife earle of Ulster.  
He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth  
not once to approch his armie, nor to be in anie wise  
implied in seruaice of the wars. He vanquished O-  
brien, but yet sudenlie (no man vnderstanding how)  
an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they  
laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be  
occasioned by that displeasent decree afore rehear-  
sed. Whereupon he toke better aduise, and receiued  
the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had  
them in before that present, shewing a tender loue  
towards them all, and so euer after prospered in his  
affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Preshon,  
now knowne by the name of the familie of Cor-  
manshon, Holiewood, Talbot, Cufac, de la Hyde,  
Watrike, Robert and John de Frarinis: all these  
being gentlemen of worthie fame in chualtrie. The  
erchebier he removed to Catherlagh, & bestowed in  
furnishing that towne five hundred pounds.

In the yeare 1362 John de S. Paule archbishop  
of Dublin departed this life the first dayes of Sep-  
tember. And in the yeare following was Thomas  
Fitzmaurice consecrated archbishop of that place. Girald  
Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord  
iustice, untill the coming of the lord Windso, the  
first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the  
yeare 1369. This Windsoze called a parlement at  
Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a  
subsidie of thre thousand pounds to be leuied of the  
people, subiects to the king in that land. And in an  
other parlement holden by him at Balidoill they  
granted two thousand pounds to be likewise leuied.  
Which said sums were granted of the mére and  
free god wils of the nobles and communalitie of the

land and  
people.  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1360  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1361  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1362  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1363  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1364  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1365  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1366  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1367  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1368  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1369  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1370  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1371  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1372  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1373  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1374  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1375  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1376  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1377  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1378  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1379  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1380  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

land, for  
ses in bi-  
tish pear  
said lord  
leueng  
commal-  
nied and  
The  
great in  
Gerald  
John J  
manie  
apac  
lie. In  
ouer to  
lowing  
lith of  
both no  
seie ban-  
apeth,  
leish.  
Dublin  
Robert

1381  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1382  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1383  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1384  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1385  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1386  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1387  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1388  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1389  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1390  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1391  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1392  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1393  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1394  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1395  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1396  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1397  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1398  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1399  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1400  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1401  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1402  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1403  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1404  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1405  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1406  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1407  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1408  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

1409  
The earle of  
Desmond  
was  
appointed  
lord iustice  
of Ireland.

land, towards the maintenance of the kings expenses in his warres. Yet the king in the thirde and fourth yeare of his reigne, directing his letters vnto the said lord Windosore, commanded him to surceale from leuening the foresaid monte, although afterwards he commanded againe that the arerages should be leuied and paid to his lieutenant the said Windosore.

The third pestilence in Ireland made awaie a great number of people. In the yeare 1370 the lord Gerald Fitzmorice earle of Desmond, and the lord John Fitzrichard, and the lord John Fitzjohn, and manie other noble men were slaine by the lord Mac Conmard of Thomond in the moneth of Iulie. In the yeare 1372 sir Richard Ashton was sent ouer to be lord iustice in Ireland. In the yeare following great warre was raised betwixt the English of Meth, and Offeroill, in the which manie vpon both sides were slaine. In Maie, the lord John Husseie baron of Galtrim, John Fitzrichard shiriffe of Meth, and William Dalton were slaine in Kinaleigh. In the yeare 1375 Thomas archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert de Wikeford consecrated archbishop there.

Richard the second.

Edmund Mortimer earle of March & Ulster was made the kings lieutenant in Ireland. In the yeare 1383 a great mortalitie reigned in that countrie. This was called the fourth pestilence. In the yeare 1385 Dublin bridge fell. Beside Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Campion affirmeth, that in this Richard the seconds daies, there are iustices and lieutenants of Ireland speciallie recorded; Roger Mortimer sonne to the said Edmund, Philip Courtenie the kings cousine, James earle of Desmond, and Robert Here earle of Wexford, marquesse of Dublin lord chamberleine, who was also created duke of Ireland by parlement, and was credited with the whole dominion of the realme by grant for tearme of life, without payeng any thing therfore, passing all writs, and placing all officers, as chancelloz, treasuroz, chiefe iustice, admerall, his owne lieutenant, and other inferior charges vnder his owne Teste. In the yeare 1390, Robert de Wikeford archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert Waldebe translated vnto the archbishop of Dublin an Augustine frier.

In the yeare 1394, king Richard sore afflicted and troubled in mind with sorow for the decesse of his wife quene Anne, that departed this life at Whitsuntide last past, not able without teares to behold his palaces and chambers of estate, that represented vnto him the solace past, & doubled his sorow, sought some occasion of businesse: and now about Michaelmas passed ouer into Ireland, where diuerse lords and princes of Ulster renewed their homages, & placing Roger Mortimer erle of March his lieutenant, returned about Shrouetide. In the yeare 1397, Richard de Poethalis archbishop of Dublin departed this life, that was the same yeare from another les removed thither: he was a frier of the order of the Carmelites.

The same yeare Thomas de Craulie was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Also sir Thomas de Burgh, and sir Walter de Birmingham, slue sir hundred Irishmen, with their captaine Macdowne. Afterwarde, Edmund earle of March lord deputy of Ireland, with the aid of the erle of Desmond, wasted the countrie of an Irish lord called Dizen, and at the winning of his chiefe house he made se-

uen knights, to wit, sir Christopher Preston, sir John Bedlow, sir Edmund Londones, sir John Londones, sir William Nugent, Walter de la Hyde, and Robert Cadell. But after this it chanced, that on the Ascension daie, certeine Irishmen slue fortye Englishmen: and among them these were accounted as principall, John Fitzwilliams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Cambrie. But shortly after Roger Mortimer earle of March and Ulster the kings lieutenant was slaine, with diuerse other, by Dizen and other Irishmen of Leinster at Kenlis. Then was Roger Greie elected lord iustice of Ireland.

The same yeare on the feast daie of saint Marke the pope, the duke of Surreie landed in Ireland, and with him came sir Thomas Craulie the archbishop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the unrulie parts and rebellious sturres of the Irishmen, minded to appease the same, and speciallie to reuenge the death of the earle of March: wherevpon with a nauie of two hundred sail he passed ouer into Ireland, and landed at Waterford on a sundae, being the morow after saint Petronilla the virgins day. The fridaie after his arrivall at Ford in Kenlis within the towne of Beldare, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen by Jenich de Artois a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him: and the morow after, the cittizens of Dublin brake into the countrie of Dizen, slue thirtie & three of the enimies, and take fourescore men with childzen.

The fourth kalends of Iulie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselves vnto him, by whome they were courteously vsed, and trained to honourable demeanour and ciuilltie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you may find set forth more at large. Whiles king Richard thus laie in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had bene banished, was returned, & ment to bereaue him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, together with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king shut by within the castell of Trim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weake, and vnsecure, that finally he came into his aduersaries hands, and was deposed by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.

Henrie the fourth.

Whitsuntide in the yeare 1400, which was the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the fourth, the conestable of Dublin castell, and diuerse other at Stanfurd in Ulster, fought by sea with Scots, where manie Englishmen were slaine and drowned. In the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, sir John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland returned into England, leaving his vnder lieutenant there sir William Stanleie. The same yeare on Bartholomew euen, sir Stephan Scrope, deputy vnto the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings brother, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived there to supplie the roome of Alexander bishop of Meth, that exercised the same office vnder the said lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the comming of this sir Stephan Scrope; which sir Stephan for his violence and extortion before time vsed in the same office vnder king Richard, was sore cried out vpon by the voices of the

Roger Greie  
lord iustice of  
Ireland.

1398  
King Richard  
passeth the sea  
cond time o-  
uer into Ire-  
land.

The king  
cometh to  
Dublin.

See more  
hereof in  
England.

1400

1401  
Sir John  
Stanleie lord  
lieutenant.

Sir Steph<sup>a</sup>  
Scrope.

pw's

lord with  
deceale.  
The king  
helie to  
iustice  
saierg.

1357  
Dissention  
betwixt the  
primat of  
Armagh, &  
the source-  
ders of iustice,  
The lord  
iustices.

Record. Tur.

1370  
People

Conjur.

1372  
The king  
lord  
iustice.  
1373  
Slaughter.

1375

1381  
The earle of  
March the  
king's lieut-  
enant.

1383

1385

1390

1394  
King Richard  
sorrowe in  
Ireland.

1397  
Roger Mortimer  
lord  
lieutenant.  
Thomas Wale  
1397

1399  
The king  
lord  
iustice.

The earle of  
Beldare lord  
iustice.

Monell duke  
of Clarence.

1362

1367  
The lord  
windosore  
lieut-  
enant.

1369  
Record. Tur.  
A parliament.  
A subsidie.

poore people, insomuch that the ladie his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solemne oath on the bible, that wittinglie he should wrong no christian creature in that land, but dulle and trulie he should see payment made for all expenses: and hereof (she said) she had made a bolw to Christ so determinatlie, that vnlesse it were on his part firmitie promised, she could not without perill of soule go with him. His husband assented and accomplished his request effectually, recouered a good opinion for his bright dealing, reformed his eaters & purueitours, enriched the countrie, maintained a plentiful house, remission of great offenses, remedies for persons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and liues he granted so charitable and so discretie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and praiers, and so cherefullie they were readie to serue him against the Irish vpon all necessarie occasions. The lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived the same yeare at Dublin, vpon saint Bices daie.

The Irish overturned by the mayoz of Dublin.

1403

Stephan Scrope.  
The earle of  
Dymond lord  
iustice.

1404  
The archbis-  
hop of Ar-  
magh de-  
scaled.

1405

The citizens  
of Dublin in-  
nade Scot-  
land.

The earle of  
Dymond de-  
scaled.

The mayoz of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his citizens nere to Bze, due foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Christs church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The verte same daie that this victorie was atchieued, to wit, the eleuenth day of Julie, the church of the friers prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that cite. The same yeare in September, a parlement was holden at Dublin, during the which in Regile sir Bartholomew Verdon knight, James White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, due the shiriffe of Louth John Dotodall. In the yere 1403, in Gaie, sir Walter Betterleie steward of Ulster, a right valiant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leaving the lord Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land chose the earle of Dymond to be lord iustice.

In the first yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbishop of Armagh the seven & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, vnto whom Nicholas Stoning succeeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyr, the parlement of Dublin began before the earle of Dymond then lord iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland. In the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Maie, thre Scottish barks were taken, two at Green castell, and one at Alkele, with captaine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Bzodagh entered Scotland, and toke pzetes and pledges. Also on the euen of the feast day of the seven brethren, Dghgard was burnt by the Irish. And in June sir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned effones into England, leaving the earle of Dymond lord iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Martinian, and valiantlie behaued themselves against the enemies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welchmen, bringing from thence the thirne of saint Cubins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Dymond died at Balingam, whilst he was lord iustice, vnto whom succeeded Gerald earle of Kilbare.

In the seventh yeare of king Henrie on Corpus Christi day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie

people about them, manfullie banquished the Irish enemies, and due diuerse of them, and toke theyr signes or standards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the prioz of Conall, in the plaine of Kilbare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & banquished two hundred that were well armed, slaying part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the prioz had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine author) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iustice to the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Yllarie was a parlement holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Heiler de Birmingham due Cathole Deonbur about the end of Februarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenly wretch an Irishman, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had caused forie churches to be destroyed, as he that was neuer chaffened, and therefore called Cobbi, chanced to take prisoner one Patrike Savage, and receiued for his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwarde he slue him, together with his brother Richard.

The same yeare in the scass of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scrope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Dymond and Desmond, and the prioz of Kilmainan, and diuerse other capteins and men of warre of Weth, set from Dublin, and inuaded the land of Mac Murch, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the former part of the daie they put the English power to the worse; but at length the Irish were banquished and chased, so that Dnolan with his son and diuerse others were taken prisoners. But the English capteins aduertised here, that the Burkens and Dheroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had for the space of two daies together done much mischief, they rode with all speed vnto the towne of Callan, and there incountering with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, due Dheroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and belaeued of manie, that the sunne stood still for a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden sir miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterpise, if we shall belaeue it.

The same yeare the lord Stephan Scrope passed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Dymond was elected by the countrie lord iustice of Ireland. In the daies of this Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being sore afflicted with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish neighbours, complained themselves in a generall writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the counsell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath bene entered by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the quenes maiesties priuie counsell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old record that beareth no date.



It may please your wisdomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poze subiects within the countie of Corke, or else we are cast awaite for euer. For where there are in this countie these lords by name, beside knights,

knights  
great n  
hundred  
died pou  
pounds,  
tie poun  
great m  
marque  
Dorfeie  
hundred  
Berhar  
died pou  
castell, h  
cracks,  
ram of C  
and cre  
sterling  
lie reuen  
dau two  
deuile of  
haucens  
pounds  
his year  
one thou  
lord Bar  
haucens  
sterling  
pearlie  
hundred  
castell,  
cracks,  
maiestie  
foiscetur  
riuers an  
thousand

And  
ship, wil  
to Corke  
Irishmen  
lands an  
warre by  
dement  
cell; for  
onellie ca  
kings en  
led Clan  
called  
liued long  
till at the  
mong the  
certeine  
shed the  
at warre  
stronger  
haue the  
lord Rod  
lie remai  
sessions:  
portion,  
Wherefo  
Corke, I  
to send hi  
died, and  
lishmen  
will rise  
at our oh  
send, we  
and comf

And  
Corke is  
great po  
continual

The cite of  
Corke.

knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, sixe hundred pounds, foure hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lords. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenues was beside Dorsete hauen and other crækes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneuale of Berbauch, his yearelie reuenue was beside Bore hauen and other crækes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great castell, his yearelie reuenue beside his hauens and crækes, thirtene thousand pounds. The lord Balam of Ensoyt, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelzjetton, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barentellie, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelie reuenues beside hauens & crækes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltmore, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Koch of Pole castell, his yearelie reuenues besides hauens and crækes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yong Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelie reuenue whereof, besides two rivers and crækes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble counsell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lords, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them do make warre vpon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings counsell; for the bitter destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enemies were bounden into a great ballie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Macrois, or the leprous Island: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lords fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part tooke certeine Irishmen to take their part, and so banquished their enemies. And thus fell the English lords at warre among themselves, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and drave them awaie, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Koch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Therefore we the kings poore subiects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Boghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good iudices to see this matter ordered, and some English captains with twentie Englishmen that may be captains ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to represse these enomities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

And as saith Campion, at this date the citie of Corke is so incombed with vniquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continuallie, & to keepe them thyt at seruice times,

at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering anie stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at anie tyme walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapon for their safegard. They match in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnere the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to retorne vnto the doings of the earle of Dymond that was placed lord iustice in Scropes come. We do find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were effectuals reuiued, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against puruoclers. The same yeare, the moxro after Lammis date, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlingford, and in the weeke following he came into Dublin, and put the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, comming to him with three of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

On the daie of saint Sparcell the martyr deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Trisfeldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Kilmannan wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be giuen by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Koffe. And after the feast of saint Yllarie, he held a parlement at Kilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirtieth of March, he returned into England, leauing the prior of Kilmannan for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgillmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enemies the Sauages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure score of the Irish in Ulster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *signum praposture*) by a prouost: and in the thirtieth of Henrie the third by a maior and two bailifes, which were changed into shiriffes by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, excedeth anie citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted three weekes, the prior of Kilmannan sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of June, the same iustice tooke the castels of Mibaclide, Dferon, and de la Spare. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Whizen with 15000 Bernes, of which number eight hundred reuolted to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not bene there, it had gon euill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Derpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, marriages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Preston married the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Wogan married with the eldest daughter of Christopher Preston; and Walter de la Hyde with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Iherlins and Walertanus, which falleth on the tenth of Aprill, Wconthir did much mischief.

1408  
A parlement  
at Dublin.

The lord  
Thomas of  
Lancaster  
commeth ouer  
into Ireland.

The lord  
Scrope de-  
ceased.

The lord  
Thomas re-  
turneth into  
England.

1409  
James de  
Artois.  
The sword  
giuen to the  
citie of Dub-  
lin.  
Bailiffes  
changed into  
shiriffes.

1410

A iourne  
made by the  
lord iustice.

1411  
Marriages.

1412  
Wconthir.

The citie of  
Corke.



The bishop of  
Meth deceased  
scilicet.  
The death of  
king Henrie  
the fourth.

chiese in Meth, and took 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Wdoles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The foure & twentieth of Maie, Robert Spounteine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succeeded Edward de Audleie sometime archdecon of Cornwall. This yeare on saint Cuthberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

### Henrie the fift.

1413  
John Stan-  
lie the kings  
lieutenant in  
Ireland.

Thomas  
Crauleie  
archbishop of  
Dublin.

A parliament.

1414

Englishmen  
slaine.

John lord  
Calbot of  
Sherfield.  
1415  
Robert Cal-  
bot deceased.

1416  
The archbi-  
shop of Ar-  
magh deceas-  
ed.

The parle-  
ment reimor-  
sed to Trim.

A subsidie.  
1417

**I**n the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clawcarfe, John Stanlie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next ensuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Janico de Artois led forth a power against Paginois, a great lord of Ireland, but nere to a place called Inoz manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Matthias daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of fiftene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning vp all the houses afore them that stood in their waie, as their vsuall custome was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enimies, whilst the archbishop being lord iustice in Crisfeldermot, went in procession with his cleargie, praiering for the good speed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Deonthir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

On saint Martins euen sir John Talbot of Holmshire, lord Furnivall landed at Dalkeie, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honoz. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fiftene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that in alled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Baret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kenlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Geruasius and Prothasius which falleth on the nineteenth of June, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furnivall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succeeded John Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furnivalls sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell upon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had bene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare reimorced to Trim, & there began the eleventh of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Du-

blin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Faringdon, but his bodie was buried in the new college at Wyke. This man is greatlie praised for his liberalitie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctoz of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in god quiet by the space of twentie yeares. This 10 yeare hostlie after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Bethat. Also at Dlane on the feast daie of saint John and saint Paule, the erle of Kildare, sir Christopher Preston, and sir John Welbow were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the pzior of Kilmalman.

The nine and twentieth of June Mattheu Wulfe baron of Galtrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & nineteen a roiall counsell was holden at Raas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare upon Genethurdaie Othpell took foure hundred kine that belonged unto Balimore, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Murch chiefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokesie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the maior raised the castell of Kenilme. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentieth of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue five hundred Irishmen, & took Whellie. On the feast daie of Maie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leauing his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland 40 to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was pzior of Kilmalman, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succeeded the said Butler in gouernment of the pziorie of Kilmalman. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen nere unto Roddison. Also the thirtieth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie pzior of Kilmalman departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

James Butler earle of Desmond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Calbot and Furnivall, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and hostlie after his coming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awaie soze wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a counsell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seventh of June. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Dalie, Mac Mahon, and Maginois. But first per we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the doings, whilst this earle of Desmond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

In the red more of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculoussie standing still in his epicycle by the space of thre houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakenire in all that bog annoieng either horse or man of his part) he banquished Dmore and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number

The arch-  
shop of Du-  
blin deceased.

1411

1419  
A counsell  
parlement  
holden.

Mac Murch  
taken pris-  
oner.

Whellie  
slain.

The pzior  
of Kilmalman  
went to serue  
the king in  
France.

1420  
James But-  
ler earle of Des-  
mond lord  
lieutenant.

A parlement  
summoned.

1421  
A parlement.

The bishop of  
Cathall or-  
dained.

James Yong  
an author so  
teached by  
Campion.  
The sunne  
stayed his  
course.

he ouerra-  
paissance  
this man  
crepts tou-  
his lord it  
incidentl-  
rish are f-  
a worke  
malicio-  
sharplie,  
abused th-  
the earle  
castell of  
lie expell  
of, that i-  
are yet r-  
weaker.  
Mac Ba-  
all the ca-  
months:  
processio  
disorder-  
land beg-  
old trade  
English

Wh-  
holden i-  
uernoz.  
June in  
twentie,  
parleme-  
ntle of f-  
end this  
after sai-  
the debt-  
certeine  
by while  
ned vp;  
the cred-  
was par-  
row aft-  
Colmol-  
on saint  
earle of  
which th-  
begun:  
Andze-  
marks:  
after th-  
lomed:  
Then r-  
John e-  
Partis-  
ceded:  
thre se-  
wafter  
land, ar-  
In  
tie and  
last pro-  
date: in  
teine p-  
a refou-  
state of  
sent, as  
sher-  
bishop  
of Liff-  
into:  
he lou-  
bestou-  
and co-  
stow a  
man.

## i

Campion out  
of the records  
of Christs  
church.  
George duke  
of Clarence  
borne at Du-  
blin.  
Jacke Cade.

bles then toward in Ireland : which letter exemplified by sir Henrie Sidonie lord deputie, a great searcher and preferuer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

To the right worshipfull, and with all  
mine heart entierlie beloued brother,  
the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of  
a letter.

**R**ight worshipfull, & with all my hart, entierlie beloued brother, I recommend me vnto you as heartlie as I can. And like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto the king our soueraigne lord his highnesse, the Irish entinie, that is to saie Magoghygam, and with him three or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that they were within the king our soueraigne lord his peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue maligned against their legiance, and vengeable haue bzent a great towne of mine inheritance in Metch, called Kamoze, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and bzent both men, women, and chylzen, withouten mercie : the which enemies be yet assembled in woods and forts, alwaighing to do the hurt and greiuanse to the kings subiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cause I wrote at this time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according vnto his letters of warrant now late directed vnto the tresuroz of England, to the intent I may waage men in sufficient number for to resist the malice of the same enemies, & punish them in such wise, that other which would do the same for lacke of resistance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse, but if my payment be had in all hast, for to haue men of warre in defense and safegard of this land; my power can not stretch to keepe it in the kings obediensance : and verie necessitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poze liuelihod, for I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience should fall ther vnto by my default : for it shall neuer be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantlie, that my payment maie be had at this time in escheewing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places (more pittie it is) for to dread shame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as my dutie is. And this I praye and exhort you good brother, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language maie be inacted at this present parliament for mine excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnesse, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued brother, our blessed Lord God preserve and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the fiftenth daie of June.

Your faithfull true brother  
Richard Yorke.

Magoghygam his  
power.

Of such power was Magoghygam in those daies, who as he was and kept it by the sword, so now his successors in that state liue but as meane capteins, yielding their winnings to the stronger. This is the miserie of lawlesse people, resembling the rudenesse of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer

and poorer than other, as he was in might and blouence more or lesse inabled. Here began factions of the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that stroue for the crowne of England. For the duke of Poike, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, exceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gentlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were slaine with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March at Mortimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time the Irish grew hardie, & vsurped the English countries in sufficientlie defended, as they had done by like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the second. These two seasons set them so adote, that henceforward they could neuer be cast out from their forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Ulster, and by certeine Irish tenures no small portions of Mounster and Connagh, least in Metch and Leinster, where the cruell sabieats of the English blood did euer most pzenaile.

Edward the fourth and Edward  
the fift.

**T**homas Fitzmorice earle of Kildare, lord iustice till the third yeare of Edward the fourth, after which time the duke of Clarence, brother to the king, had the office of lieutenant while he liued, & made his deputies by sundry turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptot earle of Worcester the kings cousin, Thomas earle of Kildare, and Henrie lord Greie of Ruthin. Great was the credit of the Geraldins euer when the house of Poike prospered, and likewise the Butlers which ued vnder the blood of the Lancasters : for which cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yerres deputie to George duke of Clarence his good brother : but when he had spoken certeine disdainfull words against the late marriage of king Edward with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the said ladie being now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish maner, contrarie to sundrie old statutes inacted in that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by John erle of Worcester his successor; so that he was atteinted of treason, condemned, and for the same beheaded at Droghedagh.

James the father of this Thomas earle of Desmond, being sustered and not controlled, during the gouernment of Richard duke of Poike his gocepet, and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinsman, put vpon the kings subiects within the countries of Waterford, Coike, Kertie, and Limerike, the Irish impositions of quinto and liuerie, cartings, carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such like, which customes are the verie breeders, mainteiners, and vpholders of all Irish enmities, buying from the poze tenants euerlasting lesse, allowance of meat and monie, whereby their bodies and goods were brought in seruile and thraldome, so that the men of warre, hostes, and their Galloglasses lie still vpon the farmers, eat them out, begger the countrie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell if their lord command them, euer nuzled in stealth and robberies.

These euill presidents giuen by the father, the son did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the reformation of that disorder specialite belonged. Notwithstanding the same fault being winked at in other, and with such rigor auenged in him, was manifestlie taken for a quarrell fought and procured. Two yeares after, the said earle of Worcester

Restitution to  
blood.  
1470  
Flasburie.

lost his  
tower  
med  
bif  
likewil  
hostlie  
refozet  
Cullac  
was  
lal  
saint  
J  
Edwar  
er  
sonn  
licuten  
natura  
Edwar

Richard the  
third.

nant of  
Kildare  
Richard

Henrie the  
seventh  
for Richard  
Simon  
guilt  
Lambert  
counterfeit  
to be the earle  
of Warwike.

boie cor  
learnet  
lightlie  
nobles  
all of  
sonne  
Cl  
signing  
in Hen  
that th  
this shil  
of Clar

The lord  
Louch.  
Sir Thomas  
Boughton,

And  
red the  
the str  
of Bur  
thue  
Brougl  
conspir  
earles  
came  
t  
ered  
for  
they  
d  
atual  
king to  
vpon  
the  
simple

Lieutenent  
and deputie  
in king  
Edward the  
fourth his  
daies.

The  
Poike  
letters.

The earle  
of Worcester.  
1467

Campion  
of Shentier  
in his  
caluities.

Irish  
imposi  
tions.

1447

lost his head, whilst Henrie the first taken out of the tower was set up againe, and king Edward proclaimed blarper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewise attainted, they thought also to haue rid, and shortly both the earles of Kildare & Desmond were ressoed to their blood by parlement. Sir Rowland Cusace, sometime tresuroz and lord chancelloz, was lastlie also lord deputie of Ireland. He founded saint Francis abbey beside Kilkollen bridge. King Edward a yere before his death honozed his yonger sonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he intioed till his vnaturall vnkle berest both him and his brother king Edward the first of their naturall liues.

Richard the third.

**W**hen this monster of nature & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his two yonger nephues, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouernement of England; he preferred his owne sonne Edward to the dignitie of lord lieutenant of Ireland, whose deputie was Girald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the seventh his daies.

Henrie the seventh.

**I**n which earle came the firste priest sic Richard Simon, bringing with him a lad that was his scholer, named Lambert, whome he desired to be the sonne of George earle of Clarence, latelie escaped forth of the tower of London. And the boie could reckon vpon his pedigree so reauilie, & had learned of the priest such princelie behauiour, that he lightlie moued the said earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the linage roiall of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his sonne George their countreiman bozne, as also maligning the aduancement of the house of Lancaster in Henrie the seventh) either to thinke or to faime, that the world might beleue they thought verelie this child to be Edward earle of Marwarke, the duke of Clarence his lawfull sonne.

And although king Henrie more than halfe mayred their spoz, in theuwing the right earle through all the streets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgongne, sister to Edward the fourth, his nieue Iohn de la Pole, the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other captiues of this conspiracie, deuised to abuse the colour of this yonger earles name, for preferring their purpose: which if it came to god, they agreed to depose Lambert, and to erect the verie earle indeed, now prisoner in the tower, for whose quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likelie he should haue bene made atwaie. Wherefore it was blazed in Ireland, that the king to mocke his subiects, had scholed a boie to take vpon him the earle of Marwarke name, and had shewed him about London, to blind the eyes of the simple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritour of

the good duke of Clarence their countreiman and protector during his life, vnto whose linage they also deriued title in right to the crowne.

In all hast they assembled at Dublin, and there in Christs church they crowned this doll, honozing him with titles impertall, feasting and triumphing, raising mightie shouts and cries, carrieng him from thence to the castell vpon tall mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted, as he was sure an honozable child to loke vpon. Herewith assembling their forces together, they provided themselves of ships, and imbarcking therein, they toke the sea, and landing in Lancashire, passed forwards, till they came to Retwarke vpon Trent. Therevpon ensued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martin Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maiister were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The earle of Lincoln, the lord Louell, Martin Swart, the Almaine captiue, and Maurice Fitzthomas, captiue of the Irish, were slaine, and all their power discomfited, as in the English historie it may further appeare. Jasper duke of Bedford, and earle of Penbrooke lieutenant, and Walter archbishop of Dublin his deputie.

In this time befell another like Irish illusion, procured by the duchesse aforesaid, and certeine nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Alster, the counterfeite Richard duke of Yorke, preferred from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and with this maigame lord, named indeed Peter (in scozne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themselves manie yeares after. Then was sic Edward Poynings knight sent ouer lord deputie, with commission to apprehend Warbeckes principall parteners in Ireland: amongst whom was named Girald Fitzgiralde, whose purgation the king (notwithstanding diuerse summing and aduouching the contrarie) did accept. After much ado, Perkin being taken, confessed by his owne writing the course of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this enterpryse, whereof in the English historie, as we haue borrowed the same word of Halles chronicles, we may read more, and therefore here we haue omitted to speake further of that matter.

In the yere 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireland his second sonne Henrie, as then duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eighth. To him was appointed deputie the foresaid Girald earle of Kildare, who accompanied with John Blake maior of Dublin, warred vpon William le Burgh, Obzen, and Mac Pemarre, Deartoull, and fought with the greatest potuer of Irishmen that had bene together since the conquest, vnder the hill of Knocktoe, in English the hill of the hres, six miles from Galowate, and two miles from Belliclare Burghes manour towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his souldiours that escaped the sword were pursued fleeing, for the space of five miles: great slaughter was made of them, and manie captiues caught, without the losse of one Englishman. The earle of Kildare at his retourne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in worthie estimation all his life long, as well for this seruice, as for other his famous exploits.

Thus farre the Irish Chronicles continued and ended at Henrie the seventh.

Lambert crowned.

1460 Jasper duke of Bedford lieutenant.

Perkin warbecke.

1494 Sir Edward Poynings lord deputie.

Perkin warbecke taken.

1501 Henrie duke of Yorke, after king Henrie the eighth, lord lieutenant.

The field of Knocktoe.

The earle of Kildare, knight of the garter.



# TO THE RIGHT HO- norable sir Henrie Sidneie

knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord president  
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the  
garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie  
councell within hir realme of  
England.



Ow cumbersome (right honorable) and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse & divulge the doings of others, especiallie when the parties registred or their issue are liuing: both common reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie experience infallible proueth. For man by course of nature is so parciallie affected to himselfe and his bloud, as he will be more agreeued with the chronicler for recording a peeueish trespassse, than he will be offended with his friend for committing an heinous treason.ouer this, if the historian be long, he is accompted a trifler: if he be short, he is taken for a summinster: if he commend, he is twigted for a flatterer: if he reprocue, he is holden for a carper: if he be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper: if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab forth his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts. Others there be, that although they are not able to reprocue what is written, yet they will be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten. Heere, saie they, this exploit is omitted: there that policie is not detected: heere this saieng would haue beene interlaced: there that trecherie should haue beene displaied. These & the like discomforts, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers and sundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie, the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosing rather to sit by their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie abroad.

Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellows, and trampling vnder foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselues forth in presse, and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these extremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeueish a meacocke, as to shrinke and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high

in

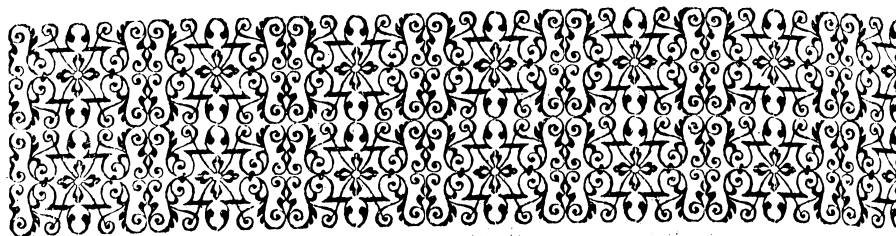
in hee  
the b:  
some  
the li  
mine  
for th  
tie of  
mult  
or do  
knew  
long  
cled;  
with  
out t  
espie  
but n  
the n  
leisur  
heer  
surfe  
befor  
store  
nicel  
bese  
pain  
somr  
rill,



in heart, as to prance and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of curriish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commending the liuing, sometime too flat in reproouing the dead : I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing ouer in silence of diuerse euent(s) (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for fundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer : who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine : howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie : I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him : it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke, with store of more licorous deinties farled and furnished ; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best befeeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous : the toilesomnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheelded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.





# A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of *king Henrie the eight.*



1514

The occasion  
of the dissen-  
sion betweene  
Kildare and  
Dymond.

**D**ymond Fitzgiralde earle of Kildare, son to Thomas Fitzgiralde, of whom mention hath bene made in the latter end of the former storie, a mighty man of stature, full of honor & courage, who had bene reputed lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yeres, deceased at Kildare the thirde of September, & lieth intombed in the quere of Chisties church at Dublin, in a chappell by him founded. Betwene him & James Butler earle of Dymond (their owne gelousies fed with cruell & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd factious abettors of either side) as generallie to all noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses vertie incident, ever since the ninth yeare of Henrie the seventh, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the factious dissention, that was raised in England betwene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare cleaving to Yorke, and Dymond relucing to Lancaster. To the upholding of which discord, both these noble men laboured with tooth and naile to ouerthrow, and consequentlie to ouerthrow one the other. And for somuch as they were in honour peeres, they wrought by hoke and by crooke to be in authoritie superiours. The gouernement therefore in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, being cast on the house of Kildare, James earle of Dymond a deepe and a farre reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduersarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or prebeminence. Wherevpon Dymond addressed his letters to the deputie, specifying a slander raised on him and his, that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of himselfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie his pleasure, he would make his speedie repaire to Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was wrongfully suspected.

Dymond  
marcheth to  
Dublin.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie no sooner condescended, than Dymond with a puissant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping in an abbey in the suburbs of the citie, named saint Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares coun-

cellors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the lawlesse souldiers vsed in the pale by seuerall complaints detected: these three points, with diuerse other suspicious circumstances laid and put together, did minister occasion rather of further discord, than of anie present agrement. Dymond persisting still in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord deputie, declaring that he was prest and ready to accomplish the tenour of his letters, and there did attend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And as for the companie, he brought with him from Apponister, albeit suspicious bzaines did rather of a malicious craftinesse furnise the worst, than of charitable wisdomedid iudge the best; yet notwithstanding, vpon conference had with his lordship, he would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points, wherewith he could be with anie colour charged, and so to stop by the spring, from whence all the enuious suspicions gushed. Kildare with this mild message intreated, appointed the meeting to be at saint Patrickes church: where they were ripping by one to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they sustained, than acknowledging the injuries they offered: the citizens and Dymond his armie fell at some iar, for the oppression and exaction with which the souldiers surcharged them. With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rushed into the church, meaning to haue murdered Dymond, as the capteine and belwedder of all these lawlesse rabble. The earle of Dymond suspecting that he had bene betrayed, fled to the chapter house, put to the doze, sparing it with might and maine. The citizens in their rage, imagining that euerie post in the church had bene one of the souldiers, shot hab or nab at random vpon the roodloft and to the chancell, leauing some of their arrowes sticking in the images.

The citie in  
an vpprope.

Kildare pursuing Dymond to the chapter house doze, undertooke on his honor that he should receiue no villanie. Wherevpon the recluse crauing his lordships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapter house doze, pearced at a triffe, to the end both the earles should haue shaken hands and be reconciled. But Dymond surmising that this dyff was intended for some further treacherie, that if he would stretch out his hand, it had bene percase chopt off, refused that proffer; vntill Kildare stretcht in his hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both embraced the strome appeald, and all their quarrels for that present rather discontinued than ended. In this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanche field was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a greene wound, rather bungerlie botcht than soundlie cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an armie (which the other alledged to be brought for the

The citie  
reconciled.

Blanche  
slaine.

The descrip-  
tion of Dymond.  
The descrip-  
tion of Kildare.

Boice.

gar  
blei  
trie  
pa  
the  
ble  
of f  
and  
tic,  
and  
of l  
and

for  
dar  
her  
spit  
for  
seri  
ner  
ere  
ger  
hil  
him  
as l  
Be  
sau  
ma  
Tri  
hai  
pro  
nat  
the  
por  
me  
bea  
tho  
bzii  
f  
fro  
a d  
sud  
the  
en.  
con  
at l  
he i  
ting  
the  
of t  
mol  
bm  
for  
net  
tha  
gre  
W  
W  
it n  
An  
sies  
at l  
tha  
his

the  
ear  
the  
tur  
lozt  
pea  
nan  
me  
ret

Kildare retur-  
neth lozt  
Dymond.

Wharres poli-  
ce in warre.

gard of his person) to haue bene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrie. And Diamond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Kildare devised. These and the like surmises lightlie by both the noble men misdemned, and by the continuall twatling of string claubacks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeeres incurable, which caused much stir and inquietnesse in the realme, untill the confusion of the one house and the monage of the other ended and buried their mutuall quarrels.

Diamond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Kildare was in gouernement mild, to his enemies ferne, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Diamond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, perfozmed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of god subiects. Diamond was se-

cret and of great forecass, verie staied in speech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, nor so sharpe as thot, being easilie displeased and sooner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his hostlemen offered master Boice (a gentleman that retained to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Boice taking the proffer at rebound, kept to the earle (with whose god nature he was throughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your hostlemen promised me a choise harte, if I strip one haire from your beard. Well quoth the earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anie more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine eare.

The branch of this god nature hath bene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chase for the wrong saluaging of a patridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his coke. Having entred the kitchen, bowowing in obliuion his challenge, he began to commend the building of the rowne, wherein he was at no time before, & so leauing the coke vncontrolld, he returned to his ghefts merilie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) some hot and some cold, was of the English well beloued, a good iusticer, a suppressor of the rebels, a warriour incomparable, towards the nobles that he fassied not somewhat headlong and vnrulic. Being charged before Henrie the seventh, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie wickednesse prepared to aduouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the counsell. When it was looked how he wold iustifie the matter; By Iesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue done it, had it not bene told me that the archbishop was within. And because the same archbishop was one of his worst accusers there present, the king merilie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggravate his offense.

The last article against him they conceiued in these termes; If in alie all Ireland can not rule this earle. No: quoth the king: then in god faith shall this earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a least. The earle returned to his countrie lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in peace) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terror to the Irish, than other mens armes. In his warres he used for policie a watchfulle kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse,

to the end his souldiours should not faint in these attempts, were the enemie of neuer so great power. Being generall in the field of Knocknow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his captains presented him a band of kerns, euen as they were ready to ioint battell, and withall demanded of the earle in what seruice he would haue them imployed: Where (quoth he) let them stand by and giue vs the gaze. Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enemies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiours should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Having triumphantlie vanquished the Irish in that conflict, he was shortly after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the fifth yeare of Henrie the eight in that renowne & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeares he liued. No maruell if this success were a cosse to the aduerser part, which the longer it held aloofe, and bit the byble, the more egerlie it followed the course, hauing once got scope and rowne at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Diamond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelates of his clergy, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the reliques, raising downe altars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Whereupon a legat was posted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after hee was solemnlie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his learning and wisdom chosen to be one of king Henrie the seventh his chaplains, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

The legat vpon his arriuall indicted the citie for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caveat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the mayor of Dublin should go barefooted throughout the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi daie: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession duly accomplished. Gerald Fitzgerald, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Kildare, was shortly after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whome in the seventh yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parliament holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bring out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient suerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to be bound by recognisance, that the plaintiffe shall satisfie the defendant, that purgeth or acquitteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages sustained by such wrongfull veration. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferiour to his father in martiall prowesse, chafing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Coles, battering Darrell his castels, and bringing in aue all the Irish of the land.

This earle of god meaning, to vnitte the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgerald with Piers Butler earle of Ormonde, whome he also helped to recouer the earldome of Diamond, unto the which, after the decease of the earle James, a baron Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifest

The description of Diamond.

Boice.

The citie in an epigone.

The Dublinians accused.

A legat sent from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

Denante intimation to the citizens of Dublin.

The earle of Kildare lord deputie.

A parliament holden at Dublin.

The earle reconciled.

Stanchfield name.

The earle reconciled.

The earle reconciled.

Piers Butler and Margaret Fitzgerald espoused.

manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret sustained, hir husband Piers Butler being so eagerlie pursued by the usurper, as he durst not beare up hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forests. The noble woman being great with child, and vpon necessitie constrained to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed sore for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of his, James White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anie longer to indure so strict a life. Tralie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossorie, thou shalt haue store of wine withun this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

James white

The next daie following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enemie the base Butler would haue travelled from Donmore to Bilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did forcell him in the waie, and with a couragious charge gozed the bastard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeeding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall frontesse floted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pulshes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their priuie packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatores touching the affaires of Ireland.

The bastard Butler slain.

Kildare sent for into England.

Maurence Fitzthomas lord iustice. Surreie lord lieutenant of Ireland. 1521 A parlement holden at Dublin.

The Moyses in rebellion.

John Fitzsimons.

Patrike Fitzsimons.

He left in his roine Maurence Fitzthomas of Lachragh lord iustice: and shortly after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Dorset, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred yeomen of the crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there past an act, that all wilfull burning of corne, as well in rekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. Item, an act against lading of wolles & flor, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefore. Item, that anie person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the yearelie value of ten markes aboue the charges, in so simple, soe talle, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demaine, shall passe in euerie attaint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard news that the Moyses with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, ready to inuade the English pale. Immediatlie men were leuied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow joining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leicr.

The Moyses vpon the lieutenant his approach, severed themselves into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderly manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdy ponker, kept the enemies such tache, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maiestie maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunk awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had bene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie; and the Moyses were so manie in companie, as it had bene but folie for two to bicker

with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his paullion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor: in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hand: My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. Shall thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant: I crye the mercie, and by this George, I would to God it had bene my good hap to haue bene in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinkeing to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his paullion, where hauing knowledge of Moore his recule, he pursued him with a troope of horsemen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied a gunner of Moors, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearced no further, as God would.

This did he (retchlesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, & aduantaged the flight of his captiue, which thing he wan with the price of his owne blood. For the soldiers would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots scerreted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to web in peeces, because the wretch would neuer yield. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might implote him in those wars. His prouesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernment, the countrie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossorie was appointed lord deputie. In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, reconuered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. Now was partaker of all the deputies counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a kalendar of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James FitzGirald meeting the said gentleman beside Wallmore, slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitesfull murder both sides brake out into open enimitie, and especiallie the countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdome to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his sonne in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the rot of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare anie thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, sir Kase Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Anthoine Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common pless, and James Denton, deane of Litchfield; who hauing examined these accusations, suddenlie toke the sword from the earle of Ossorie, sware Kildare lord deputie, before whome Con Omeale bare the sword that daie.

Cardinal Beaulieu came to the Giraldines.

Pardon granted.

Kildare accused. The articles.

The earle of Surreie danger to haue bene slain.

Fitzgerald imprisoned.

The earle of Ossorie charged with treason.

The Countesse of Ossorie.

Fitzwilliams and Bedlow.

1521 Surreie sent for home.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie lord deputie.

1524 Robert Talbot of Belgard.

Margaret countesse of Ossorie.

Kildare committed before the counsell.

Commissioners sent into Ireland.

Kildare sworn lord deputie.

Con.

Concerning the murderer whom they might have hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, and presented him to the cardinall Wolsey, who was said to hate Kildare his blood: and the cardinall intending to have put him to execution, with more reproch and dishonor to the name, caused him to be led about the streets of London haltered, and having a taper in his hand: which lasted so long time, that the deane of Aichfield stepped to the king, and begged his pardon. The cardinall was sore inflamed herewith, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was throughly ripened, & therfore henseforthward Wolfe brought forth diuerse proses of the deputie his disorder, for that (as he alledged) the deputie should winke at the earle of Desmond, whome by vertue of the king his letters he ought to have attached. Also, that he sought for acquaintance and amitie with more Irish enimies, that he had armed them against him, then being the king his deputie; he hanged and headed good subjects, whome he mistrusted to leane to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therfore presentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his come his brother Fitzgiralde of Lirip, whom the thoptie deposed, and chose the baron of Deluin, whome Deconoz took prisoner, & then the earle of Wolfe (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing captains ouer them Deconoz, Moore, & Carroll, & at S. Marie abbete was chosen deputie by the kings counsell.

In which office, being himselfe (saue onelie in feats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthilie, through the singular wisdome of his countesse, a laide of such a port, that all estates of the realme crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was thought substantiallie debated without hir aduise: manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bountifull; a sure friend, a bitter enimie, hardlie disliking where she fancied, not easilie fawning where she disliked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir husband his countrie was reclaimed from stutty nesses and florentie, to cleane bedding and ciuilltie. But to these vertues was linked such a felle liking, such an ouerwearing, and such a maiestie about the tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, she sticked not to aduise hir husbands honor against hir brothers folle. Notwithstanding, I learne not that she practised his vndouing (which ensued, and was to hir vndoubtedlie great beauntesse, as vpon whome both the blemish thereof, and the substance of the greater part of that familie depended after) but that she by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credit to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earle of Kildare at the court, and with much adoe found shift to be called before the lordes to answer suddenly. They sat vpon him diuerslie affected, and named the cardinall lord chancellor mistaking the earle his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the articles obied, in these words.

The cardinall lord chancellor chargeth Kildare.

**N**ot well (my lord) that I am not the meetest at this word to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your pusellows to report that I am a professed enimie to all nobilitie, & namelie to the Geraldines: but seeing euerie such boy can say as much when he is controlled, and seeing these points are so weightie, that they should not be dissembled of vs; and so apparent, that they can not be denied of you: I must haue leaue (notwithstanding your shale slander) to be the mouth of these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me.

First you remember, how the lesud earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth not whome he serueth, might he change his maister) sent his conderats with letters of credence vnto Francis the French king: and hauing but cold comfort there, went to Charles the emperoz, proffering the helpe of Hounster and Connagh towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our king. How manie letters, what pzecepts, what messages, what threats haue bin sent you to apprehend him, and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth I could not catch him. Nay nay earle, forsooth you would not watch him. If he be iustlie suspected, why are you parcial in so great a charge? If not, why are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it will be swozne and deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfullie, thynned his sight, altered your course, warned his friends, stopped both eares and eyes against his detectors, and when soeuer you take vpon you to hunt him out, then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

Surelie, this iugling and false plaie little became either an honest man called to such honor, or a noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a cow, or a horse of your owne, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your whistle to rescue the pzele from the bittermost edge of Wilster: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing so needfull a matter as this was, mercifull God, how nice, how dangerous, how backward haue you bene? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders, where you dare not venture. I wish my lord, there be shetwed bugs in the borders for the earle of Kildare to feare: the earle nay the king of Kildare; for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule in the land: where you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish enimies: where you are pleased, the Irish see fraudeth for a iust subiect: hearts & hands liues & lands are all at your courtesie: who fauneth not thereon cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke that you take them out at pleasure. Which the cardinall was speaking, the earle chased and changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

My lord chancellor, I beseech you pardon me, I am short witted, and you I perceiue intend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no schole trickes, nor art of memorie: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second processe will hammer out the former. The lordes also, who for the most part tenderlie loued him, and knew the cardinall his manner of talents so lothsome, as therewith they were inured manie peares ago, humbly besought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter, vntill it were examined throughlie. That granted, it is good reason (quoth the earle) that your grace beare the mouth of this word: but my lord, those mouths that put these things into your mouth, are verie wide mouths, such in deed as haue gaped long for my wacke; and now at length, for want of better stufte, are faine to fill their mouths with smoke. What my cousin Desmond hath committed, as I know not, so I be shew his naked heart for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine agents that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries beioined their malice; and this heape of heinous words shall resemble a scarecrow, or a man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carrie some proportion, but when it is felt and pessed, discovereth a banitie, seruing onelie to feare crows: and I

Kildare interrupteth the cardinals tale.

The lordes tenderlie loued him.

He answereth the cardinals obication.

I. i.

verelie

Cardinall Wolsey entreats the cardinall.

Shandon gram.

Kildare occurs.

the articles.

The earle of Surreie in danger to haue bene hanged.

Fitzgiralde.

The earle of Wolfe chosen deputie.

Fitzgiralde.

1523 Surreie sent for home.

1524 Robert & aldebot of Walsingham.

1524 Robert & aldebot of Walsingham.

Margaret countesse of Desmond.

Kildare comes before the counsell.

Commissioners sent to Ireland.

Kildare swozne lord deputie.



In what case  
 stand the no-  
 ble men of  
 Ireland with  
 rebels.

The cards  
shall not be  
lost.

The duke of  
Norfolke  
bound for  
Paris.

1823  
The Irish rebellion.

te Kildare &  
fresh imper  
ched.

The early  
Biblicists  
mitted.

1  
2  
3

g  
nt 8 mandata  
22 torrecute  
a Buldare

to recruit  
a full-time

mandatum to execute. Kildare on the morrow. The  
 erle marking the lieutenants desperate: By saint  
 whose lieutenant (quoth he) there is to be made game  
 in that fell; but fall how it will, this throw is for  
 an humble. When the word was told him: How I  
 praise the (quoth he) do no more but learne assured  
 lie from the king his owne mouth, whether his high-  
 ness be willing thereto or not: So he rebuffed the  
 lieutenant to displease the cardinall & yet of verie  
 pure love to his friend, he posseth to the king at mid-  
 night, and delivered his errand: for at all houres of  
 the night the lieutenant hath access to the prince  
 upon occasions. The king controlling the fauour  
 of the priest (for those were his termes) delivered to  
 the lieutenant his signet in token of countermarch;  
 which when the cardinall had seene, he began to  
 breath out inseasoned language, which the lieutenant  
 was loth to heare, & so left him patterring & chanting  
 the dinel his *Pater noster*. Thus brake up the storme  
 for that time, & the next yeare Wolseie was cast out  
 of fauour, and within few yeares sir William Skef-  
 fington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with  
 him the erle pardoned and rid from all his troubles.  
 When it was vnted, that Skeffington, the erle  
 of Kildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Meth-  
 len, landed nere Dublin, the maior and citizens met  
 him with a solemne procession on saint Marie ab-  
 beys greene, where sir Thomas Fitzsimons re-  
 corder of Dublin made a pithie oration to congratu-  
 late the gouernor and the erle his prosperous arri-  
 uall, to whom Skeffington shewed answer in  
 this wise: After maior and master recorder, you  
 haue at length this noble man here present for whom  
 you soze longed, while he was absent. And after  
 certaine stormes by him sustained, he hath now to the  
 comfort of his friends, to the confusion of his foes,  
 subdued violence with patience, in dures with suffer-  
 ance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers  
 as of hatred thirsted after his blood, are now taken  
 for outcast multitudes, littered in curish blood. How  
 well my master the king hath bene of his grations  
 inclination affected to the erle of Kildare: his backe  
 friend, being by his just desert from his maiestie wee,  
 do by the credit wherein this noble man at this present  
 abideth, manifestly declareth. Wherefore it resteth,  
 that you thanke God and the king for his safe arri-  
 uall. As for his welcome, master recorder his cour-  
 teous discourse, your great assemblies, your chere-  
 full countenances, your willing meetings, your so-  
 lemne processions do so far shew it, as you minister  
 me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to  
 thanke you for your courtlesse, than to exhort you to a  
 nie further ceremonie.  
 Having ended his oration, they rode all into the  
 citie, where shortly after the erle of Mowbray surren-  
 dered the sword to sir William Skeffington. Du-  
 ring the time that Kildare was in England, the sept  
 of the Toles making his absence their hurt, cea-  
 sed not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore  
 the erle meaning not to wrap up so lightlie their ma-  
 nifold iniuries, was determined presentlie upon his  
 arriuall to crie them quittance: to the speedinesse of  
 which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of  
 Dublin: & expecting in Christs church their answers  
 touching this motion, the maior & his brethren promi-  
 sed to assist him with two hundred archers. The late  
 come bishop of Meth being then present, moued  
 question, whether the citizens were pardoned for  
 crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of alle-  
 giance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought  
 they might advantage the king thereby. Whereat  
 one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named  
 John Fitzsimons, kept forth and said: My lord of  
 Meth, may I be so bold as to craue what countrie

man you see Marie sir (quoth the bishop) I would  
 you should know it, I am a gentleman and an En-  
 glishman. My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my mean-  
 ing is to learne, in what shire of England you were  
 borne: In Lancashire good sir (quoth Staples).  
 Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no  
 traitors, because it was the erle of Lincoln and  
 the lord L. that crowned him: and therefore if  
 you be a gentleman of Lancashire, see that you be  
 pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue  
 need of none. At this answer speech was set, and such  
 as were present were forced to smile: to see what a  
 round fall he rought in his owne turne.  
 In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouerne-  
 ment, it happened that one Herrie White, seruant  
 to Benet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a  
 cart of haie in the high street; and hauing offered  
 boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he  
 let a bottle of his haie fall on a souldiours bonet, as he  
 passed by his cart. The souldior taking this humbly  
 knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and  
 hauing narrowlie mist the prickocks, he stiked it in  
 a post not farre off. White leapt doune from the  
 cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with  
 his pike. Whereupon there was a great uprore in the  
 citie betwene the souldiours and the apprentices, in-  
 somuch as Thomas Barbie being the maior, hauing  
 the king his sword drawn, was hardlie able to ap-  
 pease the fraie, in which diuerse were wounded, and  
 none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell,  
 and came as farre as the pillorie, to whom the maior  
 posseth thorough the prease with the sword naked be-  
 der his arme, & presented White that was the brether  
 of all this garboile to his lordship, whom the gouer-  
 nour pardoned, as well for his courage in bichoring  
 as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnesse in  
 telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man may see  
 how manie bloudie quarrels a braving swashbuck-  
 ler may picke out of a bottle of haie, namre wher  
 his bzaines are forebitten with a bottle of napie  
 ale.  
 About this time there was a great sturre raised  
 in England, about the king his divorce, who thin-  
 king it expedient in so sickle a world to haue a sure  
 poss in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie. Cromer  
 the priuat of Arimagh lord chancellor, and sir James  
 Butler lord treasurer. Skeffington, supposing that  
 he was put beside the cashin by the secret canua-  
 sing of Kildare his friends, conceived therof a great  
 gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, because  
 that Kildare hauing receiued the sword, would per-  
 mit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, not  
 like a meane priuat person, to danse attendance a-  
 mong other suters in his house at Dublin, named  
 the Carbie. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit,  
 shortly after sailed into England, upon whose de-  
 parture the lord deputie summoned a parlement at  
 Dublin, where there pass an act against leasers of  
 corne: also for the bittning and appropriation of the  
 parsonage of Caltrim to the priorie of saint Peters  
 by Trim. In the parlement time, Owale on a sud-  
 den invaded the countrie of Aricell, rising and spo-  
 king the king his subiects, at which time also was the  
 erle of Mowbray greatlie vexed by the Geraldins, by  
 reason of the old quarrels of either side freshly reui-  
 ued.  
 The next yeare, the lord deputie going against  
 Dearroll, was pitifully hurt in the side with a gun,  
 at the castell of Mire: so that he neuer after inioied  
 his limbs, nor delivered his words in good plight;  
 otherwise like enough to haue bene longer forborne  
 in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great  
 good seruices, and the state of those times. Straight-  
 was complaints were addrest to the king of these  
 enormities,

Cardinall  
 Wolseie  
 was cast out  
 of fauour

William  
 Skeffington  
 was sent ouer  
 lord deputie

Edward  
 Staples  
 bishop of  
 Methlen

Thomas  
 Fitzsimons  
 recorder of  
 Dublin

Skeffington  
 was  
 lord deputie

Thomas  
 Barbie  
 being the  
 maior

Thomas  
 Cromer  
 the priuat  
 of Arimagh

James  
 Butler  
 lord treasurer

Skeffington  
 was  
 lord deputie

William  
 Skeffington  
 was sent ouer  
 lord deputie

Edward  
 Staples  
 bishop of  
 Methlen

Thomas  
 Fitzsimons  
 recorder of  
 Dublin

Skeffington  
 was  
 lord deputie

Thomas  
 Barbie  
 being the  
 maior

Herrie White  
 seruant  
 to Benet a  
 merchant of  
 Dublin

Thomas  
 Barbie  
 being the  
 maior

White  
 was  
 the  
 brether

Kildare  
 was  
 lord  
 deputie

The  
 Carbie

William  
 Skeffington  
 was sent  
 ouer lord  
 deputie

Edward  
 Staples  
 bishop of  
 Methlen

Kildare  
 was  
 lord  
 deputie

killdare accus-  
ed.

he is sent for  
to England.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald.

enormities, and that in most heinous manner that could be devised, boulding out his doings as it were to the last bzake of sinifter surmises, turning curie p'uat insurie to be the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings picke as huge in shew as Sam- son his pillar. Whereupon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leaving such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to sattle into England, he sat in coun- cell at Dublin, and hauing sent for his sonne & beire the lord Thomas Fitzgerald (a yong stripling of one and twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole boz'd thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to  
his sonne the lord Thomas.

**S**onne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my souereigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and wh at shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoeuer it falleth, both you and I know that I am well stept in yeares: and as I maie shortly die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decale, bicause I am old. Wherefore insomuch as my winter is welnere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wiselye in these your grane yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast p'icking. And wheras it please the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hence, I should substitute in my rorne such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not set- led, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with god cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, so much as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that vpon anie in- formation I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that sit at this boz'd, far more suffi- ent personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be as- surd that I should be depriued of both mine eyes. But so much as the case toucheth your skin as nere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, bicause (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolu'd date by daie to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to lue in the pompe of the woz'd, I thinke you will not be so bzaineficke, as to stab your selfe through the bodie, onlie to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) con- sider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be schooled by this boz'd, that for wisdom is able, and for the enter affection it be-areth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maiemes stieeth my talke: otherwise I would haue grated longer

on this matter. For a god tale maie be twice told, and a sound aduise (if stones iterated) taketh the de- per impression in the attentive hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my dis- course to be longer, yet I trust your god inclina- on asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honorable assemble, I deliuer you this sword. & Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbraced the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was imbarked.

But although with his graue exhortation the fro- sen hearts of his aduersaries for a short sp'it thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned sone after all this gaie *Gloria patri* vnto a further fetch; saying that this was nothing else but to dazzell their eyes with some sugling knacke, to the end they should aduertise the king of his loiall speeches: adding further, that he was too too enill that could not speake well. And to force the prepensed treasons they laied to his charge, with further surmises they certified the counsell of England, that the earle before his departure furni- shed his owne piles and forts with the king his arti- lerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Du- blin. The earle being examined vpon that article be- fore the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he toke from thence, were placed in his castell to strengthen the borders a- gainst the incrobes of the Irish enemie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he deli- uered his speeches by reason of his palfete, in such staggering and making wise, that such of the coun- cell as were not his friends, perswading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his li- sping and bzagging answer rather to the gift of con- science, than to the infirmite of his late maiene, had him committed, untill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

But before we waide anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles four principal enemics that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bzuted. The first was John Alen arch- bishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a god house, chap- laine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a lea- ned prelat, a god houldholder, of the people indif- ferentlie beloued, and more would haue bene, had he not ouerbusied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the car- dinall, insomuch as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to vndoe the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after ensued (name- lie for that he was displaced from being lord chancel- lor, & Cromer the p'imat of Armagh by Kildare his bzists settled in the office) as notwithstanding the car- dinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he per- sist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that se.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretarie to this archbishop, after became maister of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onlie of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great re- honing of him, as well for his forecast in matters of weight, as for his faithfulness in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was

for: whitt  
the third  
rie to Sir  
Kildare  
cushin, a  
ore in th  
make th  
in Dubl  
giraldo, c  
ster of a  
at Mont

Thomas  
Canon.

Robert Com-  
he.

Kildare  
lety into  
England

his owne  
multitudin

he is accus-  
ed for taking  
king his ar-  
tillerie.

Kildare was  
mitted.

Kildare the  
chefe ene-  
mie.  
John Alen  
archbishop  
of Dublin.

Sir John  
Alen knight.

The lord  
Thomas in-  
simleth the  
Alen against  
him.

The proper-  
tie of the  
marmoset.

App-  
proper  
(as the  
pill and  
woz'ds  
strikir  
that it  
saie tr  
moset  
bene  
ware,  
quippi  
rode t  
thzæ c  
counc  
uerne  
strok  
diged  
lords.  
thus I  
lord si  
and a  
shop f  
said:  
thus I  
led, te  
caltri  
such c  
not a  
ther r  
tweln

The archb-  
shop has tamit

The entines  
conspire the  
ouerthrow of  
the Giraldins

for; which deemed to have bene devised by the other. The thre of this crew was Thomas Canon, secreta-  
rie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on  
Kildare for putting his lord and master beside the  
cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an  
eye in that boie. The fourth that was suspected to  
make the mulker, was Robert Cowlie, first bailiffe  
in Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margaret Fitz-  
giralde, countesse of Dymond and Dmozie, lastlie ma-  
ster of the rolles in Ireland, and finally he deceased  
at London.

This gentleman for his wisdom and policie was  
well esteemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of  
Dmozie, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir af-  
fares directed. Where vpon some suspicious persons  
were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was  
the sower of all the discorde that rested betwene the  
two brethren Kildare and Dmozie: as though he  
could not be rooted in the fauour of the one, but that  
he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other.  
These foure, as birds of one feather, were supposed  
to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing  
that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not  
occasioned (as they thought) either to craue friend-  
ship of the Giraldines, or greatlie to feare their ha-  
tred and enimitie. There were besides them diuerse o-  
ther secret underminers, who wrought so cunning-  
lie vnder the thimble, by holding with the hare, and  
running with the hound, as if Kildare had prospe-  
red, they were assured, their malice would not haue  
bene in manner suspected: but if he had bene in his  
affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their fur-  
ther credit should haue bene apparent. Wherefore  
the hearing of his backe friends not onelie surmi-  
sed, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Tho-  
mas being iustice or vice-deputie in his fathers ab-  
sence, fetcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips,  
as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were  
the more egerlie spured to compasse his confusion.  
For the lord iustice and the counsell, with diuerse of  
the nobilitie, at a solenne banquet discourting of the  
ancientie of houses, and of their armes, sir John A-  
len spake to the lord iustice these words.

My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose  
propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaning thereby  
(as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to  
pill and poll his friends, tenants & retainers. These  
words were no sooner spoken, than the lord Thomas  
striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one  
that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise. You  
saie truth sir, indeed I heard some saie, that the mar-  
moset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue  
bene fed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to be-  
ware, that your taile eat not you. Shortly after this  
quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the counsell  
rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of  
three or foure daies sojourned, it happened that the  
counsellors awaited in the counsell chamber the go-  
uernour his coming, buttill it was hard vpon the  
stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin ratolie  
digressing the vice-deputie his long absence, said: My  
lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie  
thus long for a boie? As he vttered these speeches, the  
lord iustice vnluckilie was coming by the staires,  
and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bi-  
shop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he  
said: My lords, I am heartlie sozie, that you staied  
thus long for a boie. Whereat the prelat was appal-  
led, to see how vnhappy he was gald with his owne  
caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled  
such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could  
not anie longer be smouldered, but at one clift or o-  
ther must haue turned. The enemies therefore hauing  
weligh knedded the dough that should haue bene

baked for the Giraldines bane, deuised that secret  
rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of  
Kildare his execution was intended in England;  
and that vpon his death the Lord Thomas and all his  
bloud should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As  
this false muttering thus abrood, it was holpen for-  
ward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffing-  
ton his seruants, who sicked not to write to certeine  
of their friends, as it were, verie secret letters, how  
that the earle of Kildare their master his secret eni-  
mie (so they toke him, because he got the gouerne-  
ment ouer his head) was already cut shorter, as his  
issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see  
their master in his gouernment, after which they  
soze longed, as for a preferment that would in short  
space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the  
hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishman, who  
for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chim-  
nies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it bet-  
ter at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentle-  
man reteining to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or  
vice-deputie, as is before specified, toke by his lodg-  
ing with the priest, and sought in the morning when  
he rose for some paper, to drato on his strait stock-  
ings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter,  
bare it awaie in the heele of his stocke, no earthlie  
thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the pa-  
per vnstetted, and musing thereat he began to poze  
on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and  
the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horse go-  
eth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la  
Hyde, who was principall counsellor to the lord Tho-  
mas in all his doings. De la Hyde hauing scantlie  
ouerread the letter, making more hast than good  
speed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that  
letter, and withall putting fire to flar, before he diued  
to the bottoome of this trecherie, he was contented to  
swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by lo-  
thing by the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the  
lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious  
name of treason with the zealous reuengement of  
his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie  
defense of his owne person.

The lord Thomas being poyntfull, rash, and head-  
long, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the  
foze of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was  
by de la Hyde his counsell so far caried, as he was  
resolved to cast all on sir and seauen. Wherefore ha-  
uing confedered with O'neale, O'conor, and other  
Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabes daie,  
accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their  
shirts of maille, through the citie of Dublin, to the  
Dam his gate, cross ouer the water to saint Marie  
abbey, where the counsell according to appointment  
waited his coming, not being ystie to his in-  
tent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted,  
who was secretlie aduertised of his revolt, and there-  
fore was verie well provided for him, as hereafter  
shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue  
prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, no-  
thing wedded to factions, yet a welwiller of the  
Giraldines, as those by whose means he was aduan-  
ced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in  
counsell, his horsemen and seruants rush into the  
counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning  
their secret conference to an open parlie. The coun-  
cell hereat amazed, and silence with secretlie com-  
manded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellious oration.



Whoeuer insuriously we be hand-  
led, and forced to defend our selues in  
armes, when neither our seruice nor our  
good meaning towards our prince his  
A. 14. crowns

The occasion  
of Thomas  
Fitzgiralde  
his rebellion.

James  
de la Hyde

Cromer  
lord chan-  
celloz.

Thomas  
Canon

Robert  
Cowlie

Kildare  
sent into  
England.

His oration  
misconstituted

He is accused  
for taking the  
king his au-  
thoritie.

The lord  
Thomas in-  
terdicts the  
king against  
him

Kildare com-  
mitted.

Propose  
of the  
marriot.

Kildare his  
chiefe en-  
emies.  
John Alen  
archbishop of  
Dublin.

The archbishop  
says to the  
king

The enemies  
compare the  
caltrop of the  
Giraldines

old,  
but  
dis-  
tance,  
last  
be  
to  
ed,  
his  
his  
me  
the  
he  
to  
ge,  
lof  
ni-  
til-  
du-  
ber-  
cho-  
re  
a  
he  
to  
ed  
ch  
in-  
at  
le  
in-  
ad  
re  
er,  
id  
se  
es  
ns  
as  
bl  
ip  
all  
re-  
be  
of  
st  
he  
le-  
et  
re-  
ch  
is  
re-  
e,  
e,  
ie  
of  
et  
of  
is  
is  
y

erolue auailie: yet saie not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we prolesse and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines nor durles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oth, and haue vsed it to your benefit. I should staine mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Giraldines blood, and now is newly whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open enemies. I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his fo, I haue more mind to conquer than to governe, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he come able (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie scorne him by among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Having added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I space to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancellor, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his coming, and also being loath that his lacknesse should seeme disloyall in refusing the sword, or his forwardnesse ouer cruel in snatching it upon the first proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as followeth.

### The chancellor his oration.

**M**Y lord, although hatred be common to the handmaiden of truth, because we for him that plainelie expresteth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certaine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am emboldened, notwithstanding this compaignie of armed men, frelie and frankelie to utter that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auail of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisdom for a man to loke before he leape, and to sowe the water before his ship hull thereon, & namely where the matter is of weight, there it becometh to follow sound, sage, and mature aduise. Therefore (my lord) sith it is no malgame for a subiect to leue an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What should moue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge until the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to differ your selfe) not to spurne and kicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his soueraigne be mightie, to feare him;

The subjects  
dutie to  
wards his  
king.

if he be profitable to his subjects, to honour him: if he command, to obeye him: if he be kind, to loue him: if he be vicious, to pitie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to bow, than with stubbornnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and obvious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easily see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped by with sharpe & sorrowe ends.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and priuat foes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to prolesse open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so generall a quarell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that appertaineth to the whole commonwelth, to forese the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilest you strue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne vndoing both the horse and the saddle.

King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a worthy, that he is able to conquer foreyn dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He taketh kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subjects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not recouer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouermuch, repose not so great assistance either in your troupe of horsemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face soeuer they put now on the matter, or what successe soeuer for a season they haue, because it is easie for an armie to banquish them that do not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like slipper changelings plucked in their hoznes, and such as were content to beate you by the chin as long as you could swim, when they espie you sinke, they will by little and little thinke from you, and percase will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailes, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and sed on you as crowses on carion: but if anie storme happen to blasse, then will they be sure to leaue you post alone sticking in the mire or sands, hauing least helpe when you haue most need. And what will then insue of this? The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour diffained, your house atteinted, your armes reuerfed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I poure not out oracles as a soothsayer, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Cassandra being partener of his spirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of his misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) belued of your lordship, whom God defend from being Iriamias.

Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curses you shall be laden, when your soul-

diere  
the  
here  
not  
mer  
clea  
lie  
ship  
prin  
for  
Got

such  
blat  
as  
lord  
som  
moi  
call  
this  
com  
but  
de  
to  
ses  
me  
the  
lack  
in  
long  
cast

fore  
two  
wo  
leth  
wil  
ren

Henrie lord of  
Ireland,

not  
trai  
pro  
hap  
tha  
and  
ber  
and  
he  
fles  
for  
me  
you  
to  
mai  
me  
the  
wa  
do

Thomas  
reuereth by  
the sword,

me  
con  
con  
the  
thi  
as  
fri

The word  
a king

Rebelle  
from  
the  
it  
spang

And de  
Alan.

Shaken  
Thomas.

Cassandra  
prophet.

diere



diuers shall ride the poore subjects, & so far indamage the whole reline, as they are not yet borne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vprore. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleane to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folle. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Having ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horsemen, namelie such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancelor ment with all this long circumstance; some of them repozing that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some herotical poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idiot shot his folly bolt at the wise counsellor his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop precious stones before hogs, one Ward de Melan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tongue had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, because his horsemens iacks were gorgeously imbroidered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickned, did cast his eie towards the lord chancelor, & said thus.

## The replie of Silken Thomas.



Lord chancelor, I came not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to do. It is easie for the found to counsell the sicke: but if the sore had smarted you as much as it fessereth me, you would be percale as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willesh me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue bene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chuse rather to die with ballantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshwoome to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deepe lie before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmonie than at this instant I meane to sing. ¶ With these words he rendered by the sword, and slung a waile like a bedlem, being garded with his bzutish droue of bzaineficke rebels.

The counsell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master maior and his brethren, to appzehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was so sharborow, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plague that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seeme but vaine and fruitles. Quere this, the weaker part of the rebels

would not pen vp themselves within the citie wals, but stood houering aloofe off towards Dismantowine græne, on the top of the hill where the gallies stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the counsell, namelie Allen archbishop of Dublin & Fingall chiefe baron hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthy serulce done in that vprore.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Moxie, agreed to trie if by anye allurements he could be traund to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were won to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Moxie. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his cousine the lord Butler, conenancing to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterpryse. Wherevpon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

## The lord Butler his letter to Thomas Fitzgiralde.



Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the verie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my cousine: seeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberal in parting stakes with me, that a man would wene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngreatious, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partencer. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue setcht your feaze, yet to looke well per ye leape. Ignorance and errour, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnto this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses disconcert a mischeefous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgiralde nettled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Kilkennie, first forcing an oath vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he toke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Eales, who were therein assisted by John Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire liuing, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was overtaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bzidge of Kilmannan. And hauing encountred

Allen.  
Fingall.  
John White.

And de  
Silken.

Silken  
Thomas.

Some lord of  
Ireland.

Thomas  
rendereth by  
the sword.

Callan  
prophecy.

Fingall  
spoiled.

John Burnell  
of Balgriffin.

# The Chronicles of Ireland.

92

The Dublin-  
mans discom-  
fited.

Patrike Fitz-  
simons slain.

Messengers  
sent from  
Thomas to  
Dublin.

Francis Her-  
bert sent into  
England  
Custace of  
Balcutlan.

The archbis-  
hop of Dub-  
lin meaneth  
to saile in o  
England.  
Bartholmeu  
Fitzgiralde.

1534  
Teling.  
Waffer.

red with the Irish néere the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the prieste not rescued. In this confict, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good houlholders, mil-

caried. This victorie bred so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgiralde, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free passage with his compa-  
10 nio to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late slairmish, or be answerable in lust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and swo: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such fauourable wise, as the stoutest cham-  
20 pion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sicknesse was weakened, and by this late ouerthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the diuell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortly after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, infeofing him  
30 with part of Christopher Custace of Balcutlan his lands, who had vnadvisedlie a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie aduertised maister John White constable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittels. John Alen archbishop of Dub-  
40 lin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholmeu Fitzgiralde, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraloine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholmeu undertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, untill hee were past the barre, encouraged his maister to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were bulging in the channell that evening, they were not warte, untill the barke strake on the sands néere  
50 Clontarfe.

The archbishop with his man sle secretlie to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke untill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarcelie six houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgiralde knew of his arriuall, and accompanied with James de la Hyde, sir John Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde his vnckles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas  
60 Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he kneeled and with a pitifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice sooner he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his cōmnie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enimies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with

desire of reuenge, turned his harte aside, saieing in Irish (*Bir wem e baddengh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle. or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be detained as prisoner. But the cattils that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murdered the archbishop without further delate, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with  
10 Abell crying to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murder. The place is ever since hedged and imbaied on euerie side, ouergroten and vnfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Wolseie, of deepe iudgement in the law canon, the onelie match of Stephan Gardiner, another of Wolseies chaplains, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deadlie hated  
20 of the Giraldoines for his maisters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, and much blyded both father and son in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his finall destruction.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbrued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, toke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & vpon their returne from thence, they apprehended  
30 maister Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common pleas, conueting him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to passe sent into the castell by night sufficient store of vittels, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to maister constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of beere, two thousand dzie ling, sixtens hogsheds of powdered beefe, and twentie  
40 chambers, with an iron chaine for the drawe bridge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne houle for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittels abundantly furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgiralde, purporting a consent for the receiuing of his souldi-  
50 ers. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Waffer, John Teling, Edward Houks (who was likewise a pirat scowzing the coast, and greatlie annoyng all passengers) Wood and Wursell, with an hundred souldiours attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant Rutter-  
60 kins planted néere Drefson his innnes, right ouer against the castell gate two or three falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their compa-  
nic, as they little weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the constable from discharging the ordi-  
nance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for maister constable to shoot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens appeased, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats were resolu'd to trie if the lord Butler woul'd stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, hee  
70 should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanied with Dneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hyde, his principall counsellour, John de la Hyde, Edward Fitzgiralde his vnckle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughlewodie, John Burnell of Balgriffin, James Cernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, Maurice Walsh, with a maine armie, innaded the erle of Desfoie and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the  
80 prope

Alen archbis-  
hop of Dub-  
lin murdered  
at Tartaine.

The lord of  
Houth taken  
prisoner.  
Iulius Lute-  
trall taken.

John Fitz-  
simons.

The castell  
of Dublin  
besieged.

Fild.  
Waffer.  
Teling.  
Houks.

Thomas  
Fitzgiralde  
sleaded by the  
countie of  
Balcutlan.

The erle of  
Desfoie sleth.  
The lord  
Butler  
wounded.

Francis Her-  
bert return-  
eth from  
England.  
Shilling-  
toph.

Thomas  
Fitzsimons.

No league to  
be kept with  
traitors.  
The Dublin-  
ians breake  
with Tho-  
mas Fitzgiralde.

Field and his  
compaie taken.

The youth of  
Dublin taken  
prisoners.

poore inhabitants being constrained to shunne his force, rather than to withstand his power.

Fitzgerald his approach towards these confines hinted, the earle of Moxe, and his son the lord Butler, with all the gentlemen of the countrie of Kilkennie, assembled nere Jeripon, to determine what order they might take, in withstanding the inuasion of the rebels. And as they were thus in parlee, a gentleman of the Butlers accompanied with sixtene horsemen, departed secretly from the folkemote, & made towards Thomas Fitzgerald and his armie, who was then ready to incampe himselfe at Thomas towne. When the chalenger was escried, and the certaine number knowne, sixtene of Fitzgerald his horsemen did charge him, and presentlie followed them seven score horsemen, with two or thre banners displayed, pursuing them untill they came to the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who being so suddenly taken, could not stand to bicker; but fled this waie, some that waie, the earle was scattered from his companie, and the lord Butler inuaires was hurt: whom when such of the rebels knew as fauoured him, they pursued him but coldlie, and let him escape on horsebacke, taking his waie to Downenore (nere Kilkennie) where he late at surgerye.

During the time that Thomas with his armie was ransacking the erle of Moxe his lands, Francis Herbert returned from England to Dublin with the king and counceils letters to maister Shillingforth then maior, and his brethren, with letters likewise to maister White the constable, to withstand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the traitorous practises of Thomas and his complices, and that with all speed they should be succored upon the sight of these letters. Maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of the citie, a gentleman that shewed himselfe a polittike and a comfortable counsellor in these troubles, paraphrasing the king his gracious letters, with diuerse good and sound constructions, imboldered the citizens to breake their new made league, which with no traitor was to be kept. The aldermen and communalitie, with this pittie persuasion easilie weyghed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates should be shut, their percullices dismounted, the traitors that besieged the castell apprehended, flags of defiance vpon their walls placed, and an open breach of truce proclaimed.

Field and his companies (who did not all this while batter aught of the castell, but onelie one hole that was boored through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted with in the castell) understanding that they were betrayed, began to shrinke their heads, trusting more to their heeles than to their weapons: some ran one way, some another, diuerse thought to haue bene housed and so to lurke in Lozels den, who were thrust out by the head and shoulders: few of them swam ouer the Liffie, the greater number taken and imprisoned. Forthwith post vpon post rode to Thomas Fitzgerald, who then was rising the countrie of Kilkennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat was in the fire, he brought an old house about his owne eares, the Palllocks of Dublin kept not touch with him, the English armie was ready to be shipt, Herbert with the king his letters returned; now it stood him vpon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse. Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedie repaire to Dublin, sending his pursuants before him, to command the gentlemen of the English pale to meete him with all their power nere Dublin. And in his waie towards the citie, his companie took diuerse children of the Dublinians, that kept in the countrie (by reason of the contagion that

then was in the towne) namelie Michaele Fitzgerald, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons, all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which time was also taken James Stanhurst, with diuerse other younglings of the citie.

Having marched nere Dublin, he sent doctor Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Knoke, and Oliver Grace, as messengers (for I maie not rightlie tearme them ambassadors) to the citizens, who crossing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the kee, explained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the effect whereof was, either to stand to their former promise, or else to restore to their capteine his men, whom they wrongfullie detained in goale. The first and last point of this request satlie by the citizens denied, the messengers returned, declaring what cold intertainment they had in Dublin. Thomas herewith frieng in his greafe, caused part of his armie to burne the barke wherein Herbert sailed from England: which done without resistance, the vessel road at anchor nere saint Marie abbeie, they intended to stop all the springs that flowed into the towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, whereby they should be destitute of fresh water. Shortly after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet, from whence they were hastilie by the ordinance seized, and all the thatcht houses of the street were burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuised, because the enimie should not be there rescued.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in that part of the citie, the greater number of the rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched to saint Thomas his street, rasing downe the partitions of the row of houses before them on both sides of the street, finding none to withstand them: for the inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, covered all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen as their footmen from gunshot. This done they burnt the new street, planted a falcon right against the new gate, and it discharged, pearled the gate, and kild an apprentice of Thomas Stephens alderman, as he went to bring a bason of water from the high pipe, which by reason the springs were damd by, was at that time drie. Richard Stanton, commonlie called Dicke Stanton, then galloped of the new gate, a good seruitor, an excellent markeman, as his valiant seruice that time did approue. For besides that he gald diuers of the rebels as they would skip from house to house, by causing some of them with his peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the window of spike at which he stood: but whether it were, that the rebell his powder failed him, or some gimball or other was out of frame, Stanton took him so trulie for his marke, as he strake him with his bullet full in the forehead vnder the brym of his scull, and withall turned vp his heeles.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out at the wicket, stript the varlot mother-naked, and brought in his peece and his attire. The desperatenesse of this fact disliked of the citizens, and greatlie stomached by the rebels, before Stanton returned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots & fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them. The townesmen perceiuing that if the gate were burnt, the enimies would be encouraged vpon hope of the spoile, to benter more fiercelie, than if they were incountred without the wals, thought it expedient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they were the more egerlie moued, because that notwithstanding Thomas his souldiours were manie in number; yet they knew that the better part of his companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell: for

Messengers sent to Dublin Trauerse. Lince. Grace.

Dublin better ged.

The Shipstreet fired.

Richard Stanton.

Faggots laid vnto the new gate,

narchyble  
of Dubl  
murthers  
certaine

he lord of  
with taken  
for cer.  
the: Luf  
it taken.

the Fitz  
ionia.

he castell  
Dublin  
ied.

the  
after:  
cing.  
oakes.

Thomas  
regard  
with the  
m. se of  
illicence.

The citie of  
Dublin  
The lord  
Butler  
was mard.

Francis Her-  
bert return-  
ed from  
England.  
Shilling-  
forth.

Thomas  
Fitzsimons.

Religious to  
be kept with  
the Dublin  
and the  
the Fitz-  
gerald.

Field and his  
companies  
taken.

The youth of  
Dublin taken  
prisoners.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrivies, which were shot over the walles, were unheaded, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

The citizens  
bicker with  
the rebels.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
died.

De la Hyde.  
Lime.  
Bath.  
Trauerse.  
Field.

The articles  
propounded to  
the citizens.

The citizens  
answer these  
articles.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnesse of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arrived: and as it had bene so in deed, suddenly to the number of four hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire upon the rebels, who at the first sight of armed men wening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured, that the citie would neuer dare to reencounter them, gave ground, forsoke their captives, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slain. Thomas Fitzgerald fled to the grate stiers in St. Francis his street, there coucht that night, unknown to the citie, untill the next morning he stole privilie to his armie not far off, who stood in wonderfull feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by his late overthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assuredly told, that a flecte was espied a farr off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was some intreated, having so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, having no forren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the first, which daile he expected, he was sore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiours, yet unfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Upon this & other considerations, to make as false weather as he could, he sent James de la Hyde, Lime of the Kynocke, William Bath of Dollardstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Dainstowne, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Mallie his house, where maister mavor and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

- 1 That Thomas Fitzgerald his men, who were detained in prison, should be redelivered.
- 2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliver him at one payment, a thousand pounds in monie.
- 3 Item, that they should deliver him five hundred pounds in wares.
- 4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.
- 5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to the king for their captaine his pardon, and all his confederats.

The mavor and aldermen, hauing ripelie debated the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not sticke to let his seruants at libertie, so he would redeliver them the pouth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but tis for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impouerished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond middlecocks, as to offer ante man a rod to beat their owne tasses, or to betake their massines vnto the custodie of the wolues, maruelling much that their captaine would so farr overshot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnanie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought ra-

ther to make sure for some good bellam paid them for the ingrossing thereof, than for inquisition and artillerie to withstand his prince. Wherefore, that these unlawfull demands rejected, they would willingly condescend to the first and lastas well requesting him to deliver them the pouth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie: promising not onlie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presence to sweare, as far as in them lay, his humble fide to the king and counsell.

As the parties thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollardstowne a student of the common lawes spake: My maisters, what needeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were shortly after vpon Sheshington his arriuall so crookedlie glosed, as by drinke of a foyre cup he lost the best point of his bodie. For albeit vpon his trial he construed his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgerald his pardon; yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Gualter of Ballinculan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their captaine to be at a losse, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers delivered to the citizens doctor Trauerse & others, the citizens delivered them Richard Talbot, Alzerman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of David Sutton of Kabyde, who redelivered them to the citizens incontinentlie after vpon the certeine rumoz of Sheshington his repaire.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie; to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the souldiours vpon their arriuall. But before he took his forneie vnto Houth, he rode to Mainoth, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being done to vnderstand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arrived at Houth, and were readie to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred horsemen towards the water side, incountred nere Clontarke, the Hamertons, two balliant and courageous gentlemen, hauing in their companie foure score souldiours, where they fought so balliantlie for their liues, as so few footmen could haue done against so great a trope of horsemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgerald in the forehead. Some report that one of the Busgranes, who was of kin to Fitzgerald, was slain in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fled with the slaughter of the English: hied with all speed to Houth, met at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flee from thence, & to make towards Sherrish, where landed both the Oglebys, and the Wacres, with their horsemen. Wouks, Fitzgerald his pirat, was sent to scowze the coast, who took an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his captaine. After that Thomas had returned with this bodie, and the spoile of such as were slain to Mainoth, Sir William Bereton knight, with his sonne John Bereton, was inforced at Houth with two hundred & fiftie souldiours verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

Lastlie landed at the ship, neare the bridge of Dublin, Sir William Sheshington knight lord of the pntie,

Letters of  
thanks from  
the king to  
the Dublin  
ans.  
The lord of  
Trauerse  
died the  
swoy.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
goes toward  
Connagh.  
The castell of  
Mainoth be-  
sieged.

Sir William  
Bereton  
summoneth  
the castell.

Hostages  
taken.  
Doctor Trauerse.  
Talbot.  
Rochford.  
Kerrie.  
David Sutton.

The white  
cotes landed  
at Dublin.

Christopher  
Darely be-  
sieged the  
castell of  
Mainoth.  
Sheshington ser-  
uice kineth.

The Ham-  
ertons slain.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
wounded.  
Busgranes.

Colibid.  
Dares.

English ge-  
dungs taken.

Sir William  
Bereton.  
John Bereton.  
Salisbury.

Sheshington  
captaine to  
Salisbury.  
The castell  
taken.

putie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his master gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill bisme to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie borne. The maiors and aldermen receiued the gouernour with shot, and great solemnitie, who yelding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and counceill his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in words. Barnwell lord of Trimleslowne, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Sheffington, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalf.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arrived, warded the castell of Painoth so stronglie, as he toke it to be impregnable. And to the end he might giue the gouernour battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarned of his distress, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Painoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the park. But before anie peace was discharged, sir William Bereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie scoffing the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of his gentleness than of their deserting, wishing him to keepe vp in those such liberall offers for a dore yeare, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold sute. Fitzgiralde not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellows should be sower from the siege raised, than they from the hold remoued.

Upon this round answere the ordinances were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warlike on each side inironed, as the rebellles were imbarred from all egress and regress. Christopher Parese fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chiefly committed, profering his voluntarie seruice (which for the more part is so thanklesse and vnsauourie as it sinketh) determined to go an afe beyond his fellows, in betraying the castell to the gouernour. In this resolution he shot a letter indosed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agreed upon, Parese caused such as kept the ward, to still and boll so much, as they smothered all the night like grunting hogs, little misdreming that whilst they slept, anie Judas had bene waking within the castell.

The occasion of this extraordinary exceeding was colored, for snatching into the castell a field peece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could diserne his beds head from the beds feet: Parese, taking his tide and time, made signe to the armie, betwene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerskip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petit captaine to Dollsburie, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was by to the arming pits, so listlesse sticking therein,

and also vntwealdie in his armor, as there could not helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Bereton and his band hauing scaled the wals cried on a sudden, saint George, saint George. These drunken swads that kept the castell thought that this shout was nought else but a dreame, till time they espied the walles full of armed men, and one of them with all perceiuing Holland thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow vpon him, which by god hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows, shot at the other, and strake him so fall vnder the skull, as he left him sprawling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiours entered, some yelding themselves, others that withstood them slaine. Sir William Bereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & advanced his standard on the top thereof, notifieng to the deputie, that the fort was wonne. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such bzaue furniture, as trulie it was accounted (for household stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after none, vpon whose repaire, James de la Hode, and Harward, two singing men of the earle his chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselves on the ground, pitifully warbling a song, named *Dulce amica*.

The gouernour raulshed with the sweet and delicate voices, at the instance of Gerald Ailmer chiefe iustice, and others of the counceill pardoned them. Christopher Parese not misdoubting but that he should haue bene dubb knight for his seruice done that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cheerefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the deed. The deputie verie coldlie & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards him said: Parese, I am to thanke thee on my masters behalf, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue bene a sparing of great charges, and a sauing of manie valiant souldiours liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not let thee lacke during thy life. And because I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladly learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Parese set a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the more he recited, the better he should be rewarded, lest he vtold the meanest god turne that euer he receiued at his lords hands. Why Parese (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betray his castell, that hath bene so good lord to thee? True lie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs. And therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deslur Parese the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Parese at this cold salutation of farewell & be hanged, turning his limping to limping said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so freelie with me, your lordship should not haue wone this fort with so little bloodshed as you did.

Whereat master Wolfe, a gentleman of worth, standing in the preesse, said in Irish, *Anragh*, which is as much in English, as To late, whereof grain the Irish prouerbe, to this daie in the language isen, To late quoth Wolfe, as we saie, Betwene of had I wist, or After meat mustard, or Upon come a daie after the fatre, or Better done than said. The deputie asked them that stood by, what was that he spake? Master Wolfe willing to expound his owne words, slept forth and answered; My lord, I said nothing, but that Parese is seized of a towne nere the water side

Bereton scaled the wals.

Bereton advanced his standard.

The lord deputie entred the castell. James de la Hode.

Gerald Ailmer.

Parese cometh before the gouernour.

A notable iudgement.

Wolfe.

Anragh.

The prouerbe To late quoth Wolfe.

William Bath.

Entrance of Walsingham.

Hottages taken. Wages. Ten. Talbot. Rochford. Kerrie. Winton.

The white cores landed at Dublin.

The Hametons name.

Thomas Fitzgiralde wounded. Adulgence.

Englebed. Dances.

English gettings taken.

Sir William Bereton. John Winton. Dollsburie.

Sir William Sheffington.

Letters of pardon from the Dublin.

Letters of pardon from the Dublin.

Thomas Fitzgiralde wounded. The castell of Painoth.

Sir William Bereton summoned the castell.

Christopher Parese brother to Thomas Fitzgiralde.

William petit captaine to Dollsburie. The castell taken.



Barre behea-  
ded.

The deputie  
returneth to  
Dublin.  
Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
marcheth to-  
wards Wat-  
erford.

Bereton left  
to defend Du-  
blin.  
Calloglass  
taken and  
slaine.

Edmund O-  
leane escapeth.

Thomas and  
his companie  
slayeth.

Fitzgerald  
his strat-  
agems.

William  
Sento.  
Rice O'Connell.  
Edward  
Griffith.

the named Walter, and I would gladly know how  
he will dispose it before he be executed. The gover-  
nour not mistrusting that master Wolfe had glofed  
(so) if he understood the true signification of the  
term, it was verie like that to late had not bene so  
sharpe to Barre, but to some had bene as swete to  
him) willed the monie to be told to Barre, and pre-  
sentlie caused him to be cut shorter by the head: de-  
claring thereby, that although for the time he imbrac-  
ed the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not  
digest the treacherie of the traitor.

The deputie having left a garrison in the castell,  
returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin.  
Thomas Fitzgerald not misdoubting but such as he  
left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle,  
lent a huge armie in Donbur his countrie, and in  
Connagh, to the number of seven thousand, march-  
ing with them towards Spainoth, minding to have  
remoued the king his armie from the siege: but be-  
ing certified, that Barre his fosterbrother yelved  
by the castell to the deputie, the better part of his  
companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding  
he made with such as would sticke to him  
to Clane. The lord deputie hauing intelligence of his  
approch, left sir William Bereton at Dublin to de-  
fend the citie, & marched with the armie to the Paas,  
where he took seven score of Thomas his Calloglas-  
ses, and lead them all unarmed toward Johnstowne.  
The scout watch espiong Thomas to march nere, im-  
parted it to the gouernour, who presentlie comman-  
ded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge,  
which was dispatcht; only Edmund O'leane escaping  
mother naked by sight to Thomas his companie,  
leaving his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the ar-  
mies advanced themselves one against the other,  
but the ho'stmen of either side could not charge, by  
reason of a marish or quakenire that parted them.  
Wherefore the deputie caused two or three field peeces  
to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his ra-  
blement, inso much as he neuer in such open wise  
durst after beare by head in the English pale, but ra-  
ther by starts and sudden stratagems would note  
and then gall the English. As when the castell of Ra-  
thingan was wone, which was sone after the sur-  
render of Spainoth, he caused a drone of castell to ap-  
peare timelie in the morning hard by the towne.  
Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a botie, were  
trained for the more part out of the castell, who were  
surprised by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush,  
and the greater number of them slaine.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim,  
and deuised such of his ho'stmen that could speake  
English, being clad and ho'ssed like no'sherne men,  
to ride to Trim, where a garrison late with hue and  
erie, saing that they were capteine Salisburie his  
souldiours, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgerald  
was burning a village hard by. The souldiours sus-  
pecting no cou'nage issued out of the towne, who  
were by his men charged, & a great number of them  
slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take  
sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies  
was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks  
used Thomas, being for his owne person so well gar-  
ded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as nei-  
ther he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the  
English forced to weigh him. During this time,  
there arrived with a fresh supplie of ho'stmen & ar-  
chers, sir William Sento knight & his son, sir Rice  
O'Connell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who  
were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend  
the countrie from the enemies inuasion. When the  
heat of this rebellion was in this wise allwaged, the  
lord deputie finding ont no deuise to apprehend the  
capteine, imployed his industrie to intrap his confe-

derats. Burnell of Balgriffin perceiuing all go to  
wacke fled to Spounser, where he was taken by the  
lord Butler vicount Hurles, and being conuiced to  
England was executed at Tiburne. Doctor Tra-  
uers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was  
by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with  
Kouks the pirat executed at the gallows on W. manto-  
wne grene.

Sir Walter de la Hyde knight and his wife the  
ladie Cennet Cufface were apprehended, & brought  
as prisoners by master Babbon vicetreasuro: from  
their towne of Poiclar to the castell of Dublin, be-  
cause their sonne and heire James de la Hyde was  
the onelie bauer of all this rebellion: who as the go-  
uernour suspected, was set on by his parents, & name-  
lie by his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in du-  
rell for the space of twelue moneths, were at feue-  
rall times examined, & notwithstanding all presump-  
tions and furnishes that could be gathered, they were  
in the end found gilllesse of their sonne his follie.  
But the ladie was had in examination apart, and in-  
tised by meanes to charge hir husband with his sonne  
his rebellion, who being not wone thereto with all  
the meanes that could be wrought, was menaced to  
be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremite  
to be compelled, whereas with gentlenesse she could  
not be allured to acknowledge these apparent trea-  
sons, that neither hir husband nor she could without  
great shew of impudencie denie.

The gentlewoman with these continuall stormes  
heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thence  
hir bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with  
the deputie his commandment, that it should not  
be interred, untill his pleasure were further knowne;  
adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the  
mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to  
be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauen  
and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie chris-  
tian graue. The corps lieng foure or five daies in  
this plight, at the request of the ladie Cennet Col-  
ding, wife to sir John White knight, the gouernour,  
licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Skef-  
fington a fewe care and by right gouernour died shortly  
after at Bilmalmain: to whome succeeded lord de-  
putie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon  
the taking of his oth marched with his power to-  
wards the confines of Spounser, where Thomas  
Fitzgerald at that time remained. With Fitzgerald  
sir William Bereton skirmished so ferrelic, as both  
the sides were rather for the great slaughter disad-  
uantaged, than either part by anie great victorie fur-  
thered. Master Bereton therefore perceiuing that  
rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart  
birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow  
with Fitzgerald by faire means to some reasonable  
composition. The deputie liking of the motion, cra-  
ued a parole, sending certaine of the English as ho-  
stages to Thomas his campe with a protection direc-  
ted vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure.  
Being vpon this securitie in conference with the  
lord Greie, he was perswaded to submit himselfe to  
the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull  
and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned  
vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that  
no trecherie might haue bene misdeined of either  
side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the  
campe, as an infallible seale of the covenants and  
conditions of either part agreed.

Wherevpon Thomas Fitzgerald rose against the  
willes of his counsellors, disarmed his armie, & rode  
with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short a-  
bode when he sailed to England with the fauourable  
letters of the gouernour and the counsell. And as he  
would haue taken his fournet to Wiltshire, where  
the

Barrell of  
Balgriffin  
taken and  
executed.  
Trauers  
executed.  
Kouks ex-  
ecuted.

Walter de la  
Hyde and his  
ladie Cennet  
Cufface ap-  
prehended.

Cennet Cu-  
fface dead.

Skeffington  
deceased.

Leonard  
Greie lord  
deputie.

Bereton  
skirmished  
with Fitz-  
gerald.

Thomas  
Fitzgerald  
submitted  
himselfe to  
the deputie.

The sacra-  
ment receiued.

Thomas  
sailed into  
England.

is com-  
mended to  
lower.

Thomas his  
son taken.

innocence a  
strong foie.

the Com.

"How ge-  
"returne  
"these, th  
"Colves  
"returne.

Whi-  
ment, u  
bailant  
as sturd  
realme,  
name of  
cocke hi  
whole cr  
winces d  
read, or  
ing a col  
found tr  
buarie,  
dralone,  
was inc  
Ireland  
that wa  
craue hi  
as Chal  
noid, in  
empero

1536  
Fitzgerald &  
his bulges  
executed.  
Dominicke  
Booye.

Charles Kel-  
pato.

all go to  
on by the  
lucied to  
oz Tra-  
is, was  
ter with  
on M.  
wife the  
brought  
ro from  
blin, bi-  
nde was  
s the go-  
ing in du-  
at seu-  
presump-  
rep were  
is folle;  
t, and in  
ir sonne  
with all  
naced to  
tremittie  
he could  
ent trea-  
without

ll storms  
n these  
ras with  
uld not  
inotone;  
was the  
rather to  
rauers  
mie chyl-  
dales in  
ret Col-  
ouernoz,  
m Skel-  
ied Host-  
) lord de-  
sallie bp.  
Leonard  
otter to-  
Thomas  
itzgiral-  
e, as both  
er disad-  
toe fur-  
ring that  
ch pear-  
to grow  
asonable  
tion, cra-  
h as ho-  
on direc-  
pleasure.  
with the  
mselfe to  
faithfull  
ardoned  
end that  
of either  
le in the  
ants and  
ainst the  
e, & rode  
e short a  
ourable  
ind as the  
e, where  
the

as com-  
mended to  
the tower.

James his  
wale taken.

James his  
wale taken.

James his  
wale taken.

James his  
wale taken.

James his  
wale taken.

the court laie, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with halt to the tower. And before his imprisonment was bated, letters were possed into Ireland, streitlie commanding the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuenient shippt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing sealed thre of the gentlemen at Kilmainham, immediate after their banquet (as it is now and then sen, that swet meat will haue soure sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castle of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie snatcht vp in villages hard by, as they soner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these fine brethren were imbarked, to wit James Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde, John Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. Thre of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephew Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king to fore against it, perswading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Geraldine breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaye smooth, he was resolved to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rob, when a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie.

Thus were the fine brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailling his inward grieke, with outward mirth comforted them with cherefulness of countenance, as well perswading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbacan, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sillie mourners sometime with singing, sometime with grans and pithie apostrophes, he craued of the owner the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman fore appalled thereat, said: Now god brethren I am in bitter despaire of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mind an old prophesie, that five earles brethren should be caried in a Cowes bellie to England, and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the rest began afresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold fine valiant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field fine as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a wooden cow, or to feare like lions a sillie cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a baine and fabulous old wines dreame. But what blind prophesie soener he read, or heard of anie superstitious belbame touching a cow his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Feuarie, and these fine brethren his vnckles, were dashed, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinentlie bated as well in England and Ireland, as in foren soiles. For Dominicke Powrie, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the fifth, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Crauill, otherwise called Charles Kellnold, was directed to Paulus tertius) presenting the emperor with twelue great bankes and foureteene

saile hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came to late, for his lord and master and fine of his vnckles were executed at London the third of Feuarie: howbeit the emperor procured king Henrie to pardon Dominicke Powrie. Which notwithstanding he obtained, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Portingale, hauing a dinket a daie of the emperor during his life, which he ended at Lisbonne.

James de la Hyde the chiefe counsellor of Thomas Fitzgiralde, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grew this lew rebel lion, which turned to the bitter vndwring of bluers ancient gentlemen, who trained with saile words into a soles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also depriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgiralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would wish the carefull reader to vnderstand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of errour than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the young man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parliament holden at Dublin, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiralde. For this hath bene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie earle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a chonicle moued to declare the truth.

This Thomas Fitzgiralde (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature powred beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it bene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had bene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honorable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich variance, of nature fertile and kind, berie some caried where he fancied, easilie with submission appeaco, harblie with stubbornnesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a young man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a sole had the keeping thereof.

But to returne to the course of the historie, when Thomas and his vnckles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Gerald Fitzgiralde (who was after in the reigne of queene Marie restored to the earledome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, late sick of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Gerald Fitzgiralde, Thomas Leuonle, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vnckles, that all went not currant, waypt the young patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a claiffe with all speed to Whalie, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgiralde, until he had recovered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Adon his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he travelled to Whien his countrie in Apouster, and hauing there remained for halfe a yeare,

James de la Hyde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde was not earle of Kildare.

1. St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at any time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiralde.

The adventures of the young Fitzgiralde son to the ladie Marie countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leuonle.

*Elenor Fitz-  
giralde.*

yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Elenor Fitz-  
giralde, who then kept in Spac Cartie Kragh his late  
husband his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow,  
allwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that  
was acquainted with his conuersation of life, for a  
paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all his acti-  
ons vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell  
rather stout than stiffe. To his was Ddoneil an im-  
portunate suiter. And although at sundrie times be-  
fore the seemed to shake him off, yet considering the  
distresse of his yong innocent nephue, how he was  
forced to wander in pilgrimtwisse from house to  
house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued,  
smarterd in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before  
he was of discretion to inioie anie prosperitie, she  
began to incline to his lower his request, to the end  
his nephue should haue bene the better by his coun-  
tenance shouldered, and in fine indentured to espouse  
him; with this caueat or prouiso, that he should safe-  
lie shield and protect the said yong gentleman in  
this calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, she rode  
with his nephue to Ddoneil his countrie, and there  
had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortly after the gentlewoman either by  
some secret friend informed, or of wisedome gather-  
ing that his late married husband intended some  
treacherie, had his nephue disguised, clothing him like  
a liberall and bountifull aunt with seven score por-  
tugues, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same  
coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Bri-  
tons bessel of saint Malouse, bestaking him to God,  
and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit,  
maister Leuouse, and Robert Walsh some time ser-  
uant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor ha-  
uing thus to his contentation bestowed his nephue,  
the expossulated vertie sharpelie with Ddoneil as  
touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause  
of his match with him proceeded of an especiall care  
to haue his nephue countenanced: and now that he  
was out of his lath that minded to haue betrayed  
him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of  
his danger moued him to annere to such a clowntly  
curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should  
cause him to sequester himselfe from so butcherlie a  
cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie  
patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of  
his nephue by affinitie, and hers by consanguinitie.  
And in this wise trussing by bag and baggage, the  
forsooke Ddoneil and returned to his countrie.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arrived  
at saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of  
Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he  
sent for the yong Fitzgiralde, gaue him verie hartie  
intertainment during one moneths space. In the  
meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to  
the court of France, aduertising the king of the ar-  
riual of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him  
to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named  
Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir  
John Mallop (who was then the English ambassa-  
dour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue  
his repaire to France, demanded him of the French  
king, according to the new made league betwene  
both the princes: which was, that none should kepe  
the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie  
to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie  
was brother to one, who of late notorious for his re-  
bellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassa-  
dour had no commission from his Prince to demand  
him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know  
more of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine  
him, but the Dolphin stated him: lastlie, that how

griuenouslie heuer his brother offended, he was well  
assured, that the filie boy neither was nor could be a  
traitor, and therefore there rested no cause while the  
ambassador should in such wise craue him; not doub-  
ting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet  
he would not so far swarue from the extreame rigor  
of iustice, as to imbrue his hands in the innocent  
his bloud, for the offense that his brother had perpe-  
trated. Maister Mallop herevpon addrest his let-  
ters to England, specifying vnto the counsell the  
French kings answer. And in the meane time the  
yong Fitzgiralde hauing an inkling of the ambassa-  
dour his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie  
reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one  
of maister Mallop his men, did not onelie pursue  
him, but also did ouertake him as he sojourned in  
the said towne.

Wherevpon maister Leuouse, and such as ac-  
companied the child, kept to the gouernour of Valen-  
cie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking  
spie, like a pishethanke promoting varlet, did dog  
their master from place to place, and presentlie pur-  
sued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought  
the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie  
vnpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not  
onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne coun-  
tymen, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pit-  
ied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pur-  
sued. The gouernour vpon this complaint fore incen-  
sed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie  
examined, and finding him unable to color his lewd  
practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him  
by the heeles, rewarding his hot pursute with cold  
intertainment, and so remained in gaole, vntill  
the yong Fitzgiralde requiting the prisoner his unnatu-  
rall crueltie with vnderferued courtesie, humble be-  
sought the gouernour to set him at libertie. This brunt  
escaped, Fitzgiralde trauelled to Burels, where the  
emperour kept his court.

Doctor Dates being ambassador in the low coun-  
tries, demanded Fitzgiralde of the emperour on his  
maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperour  
hauing answered that he had not to deale with the  
boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to  
make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to  
the bishop of Liege; allotting him for his pension an  
hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined  
him verie honorable, had him placed in an abbey of  
monks, & was so carefull of his safetie, that if anie  
person suspected had trauelled within the circuit  
of his glébe, he should be strettie examined whether he  
would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occa-  
sion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wise re-  
mained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinal Pole  
(Fitzgiralde his kinsman) sent for him to Rome,  
wherevpon the gentleman as well with the emperour  
his licence, as with surrendering his pension, trauelled  
to Italie, where the cardinal would not admit him  
to his companie, vntill he had attained to some  
knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing  
him an annuite of three hundred crownes, he placed  
him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinal of  
Spantua, and after with the duke of Spantua. Leu-  
ouse in the meane while was admitted through the  
cardinal Pole his procurement, to be one of the  
English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his  
hospital.

Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to  
Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiralde hauing con-  
tinued with the cardinal, and the duke of Spantua, a  
yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinal  
Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Spantua  
gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The  
cardinal greatlie reioiced in his kinsman, had him  
care-

*The ladie E-  
lenors libera-  
litie.*

*Fitzgiralde  
saileth to  
France.*

*Chasteau  
Brian.*

*Sir John  
Mallop dem-  
beth Fitzgi-  
ralde.*

*The king de-  
meth him.*

*Cardinal  
Pole his op-  
er in tras-  
sing yong  
Fitzgiralde.*

*careful  
such dis-  
les of  
of the  
fine gi-  
if he l  
secretl  
that m  
the boi  
ment;  
Fitzgi  
uerell*

*In  
cardin  
far in  
as he l  
to his  
trauel  
scripli  
rure a  
nelle,  
cardin  
ling in  
he acc  
led to  
order,  
dr wa  
Kholi*

*At d  
the vi  
villag  
toke d  
to the  
rald re  
to Ro  
peare  
superor  
be in b  
thre h  
erowr  
Short  
duke c  
tinuet  
of the  
ston d  
mane  
tua in*

*duke  
of set  
ting b  
happe  
nine  
king  
toke l  
fill hi  
longe  
to d  
fostli  
stark  
wate  
was  
med  
pante  
and fi  
brim  
and h  
the d  
rele  
deast*

*a bil  
rope  
comj*

*He is master  
of the boyfete  
the duke of  
Florence.*

*He saileth in-  
to a deepe pit.*

*His grei-  
uous smeth  
him out.*

*Corrappan.*

*Robert Walsh  
returneth to  
Ireland.*

*Cardinal  
Pole.*

*Cardinal  
Pole.*

carefullie trained by in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of activitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for a dead and dumpeish meacocke. If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would secretlie command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not punitie to his punishment; upon his complaint made, he used to checke Fitzgiralde his maister openlie for chastising so seuerelie his prettie darling.

In this wise he rested three yeares together in the cardinall his house, and by that time having sept so far in years (for he was picking fast upon nineteene) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him to his choice, either to continue his learning, or by travelling to seeke his adventures abroad. The young stripling (as usuall kind doth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnes, chose to be a traveller: and presentlie with the cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Spalta, from thence he sailed to Tripolie (a fort appertaining to the aforesaid order, coasting upon Barbarie) and there he abode six weekes with Spounbysion, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

At that time the knights served valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and townes that late nere the water side, took diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the christians for bondmaies. The young Fitzgiralde returned with a rich bootie to Spalta, from thence to Rome, having spent in this voyage not fullie one yeare. Beyond was the cardinall to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further advancement he increased his pension of three hundred crownes, to three hundred pounds, over and about three hundred crownes that the duke of Spantua allowed him. Shortly after he preferred him to the service of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued maister of his horse three yeares, having also of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearelie pension during life, or untill he were released; in like manner as the cardinall Pole and the duke of Spantua in their annuities had granted him.

During the time that he was in service with the duke of Florence, he travelled to Rome a throning, of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hunting with cardinall Fernelle the pope his nephew, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fathoms deepe, and in the fall forsaking his horse within two fathoms of the bottom, he took hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, untill his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell softlie on his horse, that in the bottom of the pit laye sticke dead, and there he stood by to the ancles in water for the space of three houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greyhound of his named Grisbound, not finding his maister in the company, followed his tract untill he came to the pit, and from thence would not depart, but stood at the brim incessantlie howling. The cardinall Fernelle and his traine missing Fitzgiralde, made towards the dog, and surueying the place, they were verelie persuaded that the gentleman was lapsed to death.

Having therefore posted his servants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Erecappan) for ropes and other necessities, he caused one of the companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome

of the hole. Fitzgiralde resumed with his presence, and willing to be removed from so darkesome a dongeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his rowne, whereupon he was haled up in the basket: as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of the cardinall and all his friends, rendering most hartie thanks unto God his diuine maiestie, for promoting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon. And thus succedding to treat anie further of his adventures, untill the date of time traine my pen to a longer discourse, I will returne to the inhabitants of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitzgiralde, through rigor of iustice and the due execution of lawes were greatlie molested. For over this, that such as were knowne for open and apparent traitors in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of worship were sent from England, with commission to examine each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and so according to their discretion, either with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to haue furthered him in his dissolall commotion. Commissioners were these: Sir Anthoine Gentileger knight, Sir George Panlet knight, maister Poile, and maister Barnes. Much about this time was there a parlement holden at Dublin before the lord Leonard Greie lord deputie, beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commissioners sent to Ireland:

Their names  
Parlement.  
1539

In this parlement there past these  
acts following.

For the attainder of the earle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitzgiralde, with others.

For the succession of the king & queene Anne.

Of absentees, wherein was granted to the king the inheritance of such lands in Ireland, wherof the duke of Norfolk & George Talbot earle of Waterford & Salop were seized, with the inheritances of diuerse other corporations and countes demurrant in England.

For the repeale of Poinings act. Authorizing the king his heirs and successors to be supreme head of the church of Ireland. That no subjects or residents of Ireland shall pursue or commence, use or execute anie manner of prouocations, appeals or other proccesse from the see of Rome, upon paine of incurring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king, or his heirs apparant.

For the first fruits.

Of Sir Walter de la Hyde knight his lands in Carbeire granted to the king.

How persons robbed shall be restored to their goods.

Restreining tributs to be granted to Irishmen.

Against

In act

Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.  
 Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.  
 Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.  
 For the twentieth part.  
 For the English order, habit, and language.  
 For the suppressing of abbeyes.  
 For the lading of wools & flockes.  
 For the proofe of testaments.  
 Of faculties.  
 Declaring the effect of Poynings act.  
 Of penall statutes.  
 For the weres vpon Barou, and other waters in the countrie of Kilkennie.  
 For the personage of Dongarvan.  
 For leasers of cozne.

An act.

The old earle of Kildare his death.

His seruice.

His hospitalitie and devotion.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certene it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgiralde smote him so depelie to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the towre, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his bainelesse boy had neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not stomach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie honorable, a wise, deepe, and far-reaching man: in war balliant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armes to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, enriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased enuie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one followed. He was so religionlie addicted vnto the seruice of God, as what time soeuer he travelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chapel should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the distaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would stricte examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or done, he was accustomed to laie soze to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the proofe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciouslie caried, as for currieng fauour to himselfe, he would laboz to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vsing withall such warie secrecie, as vntill the matter came to the pinch, the abuser should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best prouided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that John Murlan with certene desperate varlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined

The old earle of Kildare his policie when

to assault him vpon his returne to Painoth, he had one of his seruants named James Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a blusht did somewhat resemble him, attired in his riding apparell, and namelie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he vied to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Painoth, with six of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the coming of the earle, encountered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had bene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amayed therewith, cried that they toke their marke amisse; for the earle rode to Painoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers appalled, fled awaie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, sustaining the punishment that such cattifes deserued.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Greie, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir with the same stufte. Which gentlenesse he recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the towre, she did not onelie euer after liue as a chaste and honorable widow, but also nightlie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solempne congrate the would bid hir lord goodnight. Wherby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absenties, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Girald Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common pless, was occasioned, for certene his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Wher being for his good seruice greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillars of the weale publike, namelie of the lord Cromwell; it happened that through his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. This advancement disliked by certene of Waterford and Wexford, that were not friendly to the gentleman, they debased him in such despitefull wise, as the earle of Shrewsburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to challenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple John at Stile as he reamed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinal his sole.

The king herevpon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being thoroughlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisdom, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereto the king vpon further leasure agreed, and shortly after (according to his promise) bestowed two or thre houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwell his forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man worthy to supplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed: Tru- lie and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probable alleged for the decate of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certene of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so lit-

his death by conspired.  
 John Grant.  
 James Grant.

The ladie Greie her selfe to his husband.

Girald Ailmer.

Oncale res-  
 bellish.

His william  
 Hereton  
 sent into  
 Ireland.

His william  
 Hereton  
 sent into Ire-  
 land.

The lord of  
 Bellagha.

James Fle-  
 ming baron of  
 Salane.

Robert Halse-  
 penne.

he keep  
 the face  
 when  
 of parli  
 their al  
 dighne  
 nallie  
 crown  
 from a  
 ded m  
 sell, an  
 put in  
 Shew  
 posses  
 that co  
 imagi  
 again  
 pagg  
 and of  
 pale, e  
 ch sto  
 ring b  
 hill: a  
 pale b  
 wards  
 waie l  
 tie, fi  
 cell of  
 fough  
 resisti  
 (who l  
 be sen  
 uice b  
 king  
 reque  
 ther b  
 and si  
 uice fi  
 that r  
 by his  
 his th  
 five b  
 him t  
 wise  
 of his  
 the fo  
 blin  
 ed wi  
 ward  
 the fu  
 spoik  
 fengi  
 the bi  
 ning  
 wher  
 nesh  
 keep  
 lark  
 batt  
 half  
 den  
 (con  
 rour  
 men  
 that  
 lord  
 cha  
 his  
 who  
 bou



the képe, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be overrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would prouide by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and communalte granted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, repress rebels, and defend your subiects from all traitorous inuasion.

The king tickled with this plausible denise, paled maister Allmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which redounded chéllie to the lord of Schireburne his disadvantage, as one that was possessed of diuerse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Some after this parlement, Dneale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with Ddoneale Magganneth, Deaghban, Mac Kullen, Dhanlan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden inuaded the pale, came to the Pauant, burnt all the towines of ech side confining, after marched to Taragh, mustering with great pride his armie upon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfree.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, forcailling the worst, certified the king & counsell of Dneale his rebellion, and withall humble besought a fresh supplie of souldiours to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Wiereton, (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highlie commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Wiereton to this charge, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiours of Cheshiremen. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him vp to their barke by pulleys, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the febleness of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maiors & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maiors & townesmen, he marched northward to Bellahoe, where Dneale & his companie on the further side of the water late incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to trauell the better part of the night, inso much as by the dawnning of the daie they were nere to the riuers side: where hauing esiered the enimies, namlie Magganneth, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to képe the streets (for Dneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselves in battell arrate, as men that were resoluéd with all hast and good speed to suppress the enimie with a sudden charge.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garbed with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humble besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with chérfull countenance imparted the obtaining of his lute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Halsepennie, who with his ancestors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halsepennie seeing the fur-

ther side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he took it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Ireland with a flipp, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarie to run to his bitter and undoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his deniall to baseness of courage, but to warinesse of fatesie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner chuse to sleepe in an whole képe his pelt, than to walke in a torne lion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredlie promised.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Beton of Downoie, brake with him as touching Halsepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the want of that barbarous coward, as he did terme him. Beton to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as heretofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the souze in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted for the baron gaue him a choise horse: he took the standard, & with a sudden shot, hauing with him in the fore-ranke Gabe of Gabestowne (who at the first burnt was slaine) he stong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and peomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage resisted their assault. So this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie picked, in that they had the aduantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged; by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, and to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart upon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, due Magdannah their capteine, pursued Dneale with the remnant of his lords, leauing behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie untill it was sunne set. In this hote conflict Mathew King, Patrike Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Bafnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was swayne one of the priue counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdiffe, were reposed to haue serued verie valiantlie. Moreover, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaele Curfeie maior of Drogheda, Gerald Allmer chérfiustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superior to them all, so in courage and mannesse he was inferior to none. He was noted by the armie to haue indured great toile and paine befoze the skirmish, by posting bare-headed from one band to an other, debasing the enimies inhaning the power of the pale, deppeising the reuolt of rebellious traitors, & extolling the good quarrell of loiall subiects, offering large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Quet this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in vising them like

Robert Beton.

Gabe of Gabestowne.

The Irish discomfited. Dneale put to flight.

King, Barnewall, Bafnet, Fitzsimons.

The maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubbed knights.

Allmer, Talbot. The valiantnesse of the lord Greie.

As it is friends

his death was conspired.

John Dillan, James, & Zanti.

The table of the king's household.

Stradale.

Greie's death.

William Wiereton.

William Wiereton.

The lord of Drogheda.

James Fleming.

Robert Halsepennie.

friends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and moving laughter with pleasant conceits, as they were incensed as well for the love of the person, as for the hatred of the enimie, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequitt himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The gouernor, turning the oportunitie of this skirmish to his advantage, hostlie after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Dneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this iornie he raised saint Patrike his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrick, Wigide, and Colme, who are said to haue bene there intomed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie hearts in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of spounser as were enimies to his gouernment, they booke by diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1 Inprimis, that notwithstanding he was stricly commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the yong Fitzgiralde, yet did he not onlie disobey the kings letters as touching that point by plaieng boye, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitzgiralde, and late with him two or thre seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2 Item, that the chiefe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgiralde with such faile promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the yong Fitzgiralde to aspire to the earledome of Kildare.

3 Item, that he was so greedie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subiects, namely of such as were resiant in spounser, as the beds he laie in, the cups he drank in, the plate with which he was serued in ante gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt up, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4 Item, that without ante warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrikes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and thipt the notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England; had not God of his iustice prevented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessel and passengers wherein the said belles should haue bene conueied.

These and the like articles, were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembryng his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be soner for one trespass condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onelie be removed from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the towler hill the eight and twentieth of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceit with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false: His lordship thereto answered *Bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are intwapped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligence is tixbackt with hatred, negligence is laden with fauours, seueritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse

The lord Greie beheaded.

1541

The lord Greie guilty of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernors of prouinces.

kindnesse contemned, conference to undermin ing framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open fawning, secret grudging, gapping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tongue and pen as soon as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) dispatched, sir William Bereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernment was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Dneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namely Dconbur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subiects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Howze in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice shortly with accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who upon the approach of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselves in woods and marshes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Dconbur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. Dconbur soon after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cormack to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this sournie was ended, sir Anthoine Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Bereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, traouelling by the lord deputie his appointment to Amerike to bring in James earle of Desmond, who stood upon certaine tickle points with the gouernor, ended his life in that iournie, and lieth intomed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Bennie his church. In the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthoine Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namely.

That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland,

For grate merchants.

That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.

That consanguinity or affinitie, being not within the fifth degree, shall be no principall challenge.

That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.

For the aduiliating of precontracts in marriage.

For all lords to disteine by on the lands of their holden, & to make their auowrie, not naming the tenant, but their land.

For capacities.

For seruants wages.

For ioint-tenants.

For recouerie in auoiding leases.

For tithes.

For attournements.

This parlement was proroged untill the fifteenth of Februarie, and after was continued at Limerike before

before

An

1543  
The tower a source of the eig

An

seuent  
gouern  
sed an  
garuan  
euer.  
rith lo;  
his mi  
But 3  
land,  
selfe o  
lato to  
ble sal  
Shoztl  
great:  
bale fo  
For in  
Shame  
die beg

James earle of Desmond.

Dneale earle of Ciron.

Dneale earle of Ciron.

1544  
The Irish sent for to the siege of Bul-loune.

Their policie in pursuing the armie.

Should them by no moe

before the said deputie, at which time there passed  
for the adiournment of the par-  
lement, and the place to hold  
the same, and what persons  
shall be chosen knights and  
burgeſes.

An act for the election of the lord iu-  
ſtice.

Touching miſpleading and ieoꝝ-  
failes.

For lands giuen by the king.  
For the ſuppreſſion of kilmai-  
nan and other religious hou-  
ſes.

This parlement was likewiſe pzogoged, and af-  
ter was continued and holden before the ſaid gouer-  
nour at Dublin, the ſirt date of Nouember, in the  
fourte and thirtiſth yeaꝝ of the reigne of king Henrie  
the eight, wherein there paſſed theſe acts; namelie :

An act for the diuiſion of Metch into  
two ſhires.

An act for perſons ſtanding bound in a-  
ny court for their apperance,  
and being in ſeruice, to be diſ-  
charged by writ.

This parlement was further pzogoged untill the  
ſeuenteenth of Aprill, and at that time before the ſaid  
gouernor it was holden and ended, in which there paſ-  
ſed an act touching the manour and caſtell of Don-  
garuan to be vnitid and annexed to the crowne for-  
euer. To this parlement reſorted diuerſe of the Ir-  
iſh lords, who ſubmitting themſelues to the deputie  
his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries.  
But James earle of Deſmond failed into Eng-  
land, and before the king and counsell purged him-  
ſelfe of all ſuch articles of treaſon as were falſelie  
laid to his charge : whoſe cleare purgation and hum-  
ble ſubmiſſion the king accepted verie gratefullie.  
Shortlie after Deſmond his returne homeward, the  
great Dneale was created earle of Tiron, and his  
baſe ſonne Mather Dneale baron of Dongaruan.  
For in thoſe daies John Dneale, commonlie called  
Shane Dneale, the onclie ſonne lawfullie of his bo-  
die begotten, was little or nothing eſteemed.

Dneale hauing returned to Ireland with this  
honour, and the king his fauor, Mthen with certeine  
other Irſh lords ſailed into England, ſubmitting  
their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This  
Mthen was at that time created earle of Clencare,  
in which honour his poſteritie hitherto reſſeth. Short-  
lie after the returne of theſe lords to their countrie,  
king Henrie being fullie reſolued to beſiege Bul-  
longne, gaue commandement to ſir Anthonie Sent-  
leger deputie, to leaue an armie of Irſhmen, and  
with all expedition to ſend them to England. To  
theſe were appointed capteins the lord Potowe, who  
after was dubb knight, Surlocke & Finglaſſe, with  
diuerſe others. They muſtered in ſaint James his  
parke ſenen hundred. In the ſiege of Bullongne  
they ſhod the armie in verie good ſted. For they were  
not onelie contented to burne and ſpoile all the villa-  
ges thereto adiointing, but alſo they would range  
twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land, and ha-  
ving taken a bull, they uſed to tie him to a ſtake, and  
ſcorching him with ſaggots, they would force him to  
roze, ſo as all the cattell in the countrie would make  
towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead  
awaie, and furniſh the campe with ſtoze of beſe.

If they toke anie Frenchman priſoner, leſt they  
ſhould be accounted couetous, in ſnatching with  
them his entier bodie, his onclie ranſome ſhould bee  
no moze but his head. The French with this ſtrange

kind of warfaring aſtoniſhd, ſent an ambadaoz to  
king Henrie, to learne whether he bzought men  
with him or diuels, that could neiſther be worne with  
rewards, nor pacified by pitie : which when the king  
had turned to a leaſt, the Frenchmen euer after, if  
they could take anie of the Irſh ſcatering from the  
compante, uſed firſt to cut off their genitals, and  
after to torment them with as great and as linge-  
ring paine as they could deuſe.

After that Bullongne was ſurrendzed to the king,  
there incamped on the weſt ſide of the towne be-  
yond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongſt  
whome there was a Thraſonickall Coltas that depar-  
ted from the armie, and came to the bzinke of the  
hauen, and there in letting and daring, wiſe chalen-  
ged anie one of the Engliſh armie that durſt be ſo  
hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And al-  
beit the diſtance of the place, the depth of the hauen,  
the narnelle of his compante imboldened him to  
this chalenge, moze than anie great valour or pitie  
that reſſed in him to indure a combat; yet all this  
notwithſtanding, an Irſhman named Richoll  
Welſh, who after retained to the earle of Kilbare,  
loathing and diſdaining his proud bzags, ſlung into  
the water, and ſwam ouer the riuer, fought with the  
challenger, ſtrake him for dead, and returned backe  
to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his  
mouth, before the armie could ouertake him. For  
which exploit, as he was of all his compante highlie  
commended, ſo by the lieutenant he was bountifullie  
rewarded.

Much about this time the earle of Lennor, berie  
wrongfullie inquieted in Scotland, and forced to for-  
ſake his countrie, became humble petitioner to  
king Henrie, as well to releue him in his diſtreſſed  
calamitie, as to compaſſe the means how he might  
be reſtoꝝed to his lands & liuing. The king his high-  
neſſe moued with compaſſion, poſted the earle ouer  
to Ireland, with letters of eſpeciall truſt, command-  
ing ſir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to aſſiſt  
and further the Scotiſh outcaſt, with as puſſant an  
armie as to his contentation ſhould ſeeme god. The  
deputie, vpon the receipt of theſe letters, ſent for  
James Butler earle of Dymond and Oſſerie, a no-  
ble man, no leſſe politike in peace, than valiant in  
warres, made him priue to the king his pleaſure;  
and withall in his maiesties name did caſt the charge  
hereof vpon the ſaid earle, as one that for his tried  
loialtie was willing, and for his honour and valour  
able to attempt and atchieue ſo rare and famous an  
exploit. The lord of Dymond as willing to obeye, as  
the gouernour was to command, leuied of his te-  
nants and retainers ſix hundred Gallowglafſes,  
four hundred hearnes, three ſcore horſemen, and  
four hundred and fortye ſhot : ſo in the whole he mu-  
ſtered on Dymantowne grane nere Dublin, fif-  
tene hundred ſouldiours.

The lord deputie yelding his honour ſuch thanks  
in words, as he deſerued indeed, leuied in the pale  
ſixtene hundred ſouldiours moze, to be annexed to  
the earle his compante. Ouer them he conſtituted  
ſir John Trauers capteine, but the erle of Dymond  
was made generall of the whole armie. When the  
ſouldiours were with munition and victuals abun-  
dantlie furniſhed, the earle of Dymond and the earle  
of Lennor toke ſhipping at Sheriſe, hauing in their  
compante twentie and eight ſhips well rigged, ſuffi-  
cientlie manned, and ſtronglie appointed. From  
theſe they ſailed northwards, and rode at anchoꝝ  
without the hauen of Dloſket beyond Katterger-  
gus. Where hauing remained builing without the  
mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduſe of the ma-  
ſters of their ſhips (who pzognoſticated the ſpeeie ap-  
proch of a ſtoꝝme, and therefore did wiſh them to  
take

A French  
challenger  
vanquiſhed.

Richoll  
Welſh.

1545  
The earle of  
Lennor as-  
ſiſted by king  
Henrie.

James But-  
ler earle of  
Dymond.

Sir John  
Trauers  
knight.

The earle of  
Dymond and  
the earle of  
Lennor in  
danger to be  
drowned.

Sir William  
Bereeton  
lord iuſtice.

Sir William  
Bereeton  
lord iuſtice.

Donoghue ſub-  
miſſed him-  
ſelfe to the  
lord iuſtice.  
Sir Anthonie  
Sentleger  
lord deputie.  
Sir William  
Bereeton lord  
high ſheriff.

James earle  
of Deſmond.

Great earle  
of Tiron.

1543

1544

1545

1546

1547

1548

1549

1550

1551

1552

1553

1554

1555

1556

take a good harb'rough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue bene ouerwhelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather druen to the haven of Dunbrytaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequentlie they all should either haue bene plunged in the water, or else haue bene slaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preventing their imminent calamitie, sent them not onlie a wished calme, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whence they were scattered.

The earle of Lennor aduertised by certeine of his friends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie double with him (for although they gaue their word to surrender vnto him the castell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not onlie forfethe that hold, but also were readie to encounter with his souldiours vpon their arrivalls) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Dymond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were betwaxed to invade his enemies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterpryse, as they would shew themselves moze willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. For the earle of Dymond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall boyle rashlie or vndissembledlie, so he would not seeme to put it by lightlie or easilie.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor stood in hope, that the lord of the out Isles would aid him, it was thought by Dymond not to be amisse, to expect his comming; and so joining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottish enemies would be forced to plucke in their harness, although at the first blush they seeme to set a good face on the matter. Lennor somewhat with this persuasion carried, gaue his consent to expect the lord of the out Isles determination, who notwithstanding all the feith of the enterpryse were descried, would not slip from his word, but personallie sailed to the Irish fleet, with three gallies well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was requested, as warlike souldiours could on the sea aswaid him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not seeme to shrink from his friend in this his aduersitie. And shortly after as they craued his aduise what were best to be done, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, because their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castles were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to giue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to invade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

And after that the Scottish souldiours should be dismissed, which would be incontinent vpon their returne, by reason of the excessive charges: then might the earle of Lennor with lesse preparation, and moze security giue a fresh onset, that the enemies should sooner feele his force, than heare of his arrivall. Dymond and Lennor vpon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Isles and his three gallies sailed with the fleet,

for he was not able by reason of the feebleness of his bodie to trauell by land, or scantly further to prolong his life, which he ended at Houth presentlie vpon his arrivall, and was with great solemnities buried in saint Patrick his church at Dublin, vpon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

*Pique manique mea patria dum redditur exsil,  
Exsil in externa cogor & ipse mori.*

*His epitaph.*

Both the earls marched with the armie on foot to Carrigfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and sir John Trauers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer waie, trauelled through the Ardes with the number of five hundred souldiours, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streit plunges (for they would gladly haue seene what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Dymond with his souldiours (which were a thousand five hundred, as before is expessed) marched on foot to Welsfast, which is an arme of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their wether were bitter and ouernipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded ouer on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valliant enterpryse of so honorable a personage. From thence he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his souldiours, and hauing presented himselfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

Shortly after sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie and the earle of Dymond fell at debate, inasmuch as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutual grudge proceeded of certeine new and extraordinary impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the subjects. Whereat the earle of Dymond as a zelous defender of his countrie began to bicker, & in no sort could be wone to agree to anie such unreasonable demand. Wherevpon Dymond, perceiving that the gouernour persisted in his purpose, adressed letters of complaint to such as were of the priuie counsell in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthonie his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthonie hauing ouer read the writings, sent master Bassnet in post hault with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Dymond kept his Christmasse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the counsels hands.

The earle answered that his quarrell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who took a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vntwiste; but in such sort as they came from the gouernour, they should be sent to the counsell: and if their honours would allow anie subject to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indosed, he could not but digest anie such insurie that they would seeme to beare. With this answer Bassnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Wherevpon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare before the priuie counsell in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripely debated. In fine, the counsell equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their losall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, wrapped vpon their quarels & made them both friends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be made either

*The earle of Dymond his property.*

*The lord of the out Isles saileth to the earle of Lennor.*

*Dymond and Lennor land.*

*The earle of Dymond his souldiours trauell.*

*The deputie and Dymond at debate.*

*Dymond his letters intercepted.*

*The lord traueles and Dymond sent to England.*

*Sir John Trauers buried in saint Patrick his church at Dublin.*

*Sir William wife knight.*

*The earle of Dymond describes.*

*His description.*

either with aile conqueste cralted; or with aile foile debased.

And so for much as Sir John Allen knight their lord chancelor of Ireland, was found to limps in this controuersie, by plateng (as it was supposed) more craftie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels; he was likewise sent for into England; and being tript by the count cell in his tale, was committed to the Fleet, wherein he remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Desmond was greatlie aided by Sir William Wolfe knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deseruing in deed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and shew highlie in king Henrie his grace, which he wholie fled to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoyance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well spoken, mild of nature, with discretion stout, as one that in an vpright quarell would beare no coles, set some in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all aduises to be of a pleasant and present wit. Having lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who having potwaded erimines ingrailed in the seale; Why how now Wolfe (quoth the king) what hast thou lye here? And if it like your maiestie, quoth Sir William, a louse is a rich cote, for by giuing the louse, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the flour de lice. Whereat the king hartilie laughes, so as to heare hold prettie so, biting a taunt (namelie proceeding from a prince) was suddenlie turned to so pleasant a conceipt.

After the agreement made betwene Desmond and Gentlegger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that time in his luerie to the number of fiftie) besought his lordship to take at the Limehouse his part of a supper, which they provided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at their request, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caltise or other did poison the meat, or that some other false meafures were used (the certentie with the renenge wherof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thistle and hue of his seruants presentlie that night sickened: one James Wolfe the earle his steward, with fiftie of his fellows died, the remnant of the seruants recovered. But their lord, whose health was chieflie to be wished, in the flour of his age, deceased of that sicknesse at the house in Holborne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Thomas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small grieue to all good men.

This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as frank & as liberall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discretion where he yielded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vnlawfull quietnesse before vpright troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdom in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous vpholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gaine. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer bene borne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be

immortal, that by course of nature was framed mortal. And to giue sufficient proofe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betooke in his death-bed his soule to God, his carcase to christian buriah; and his hart to his countrie; declaring therby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intoned after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished. For his hart was conueied to Ireland, and lieth ingrailed in the quere of the cathedrall church in Bilkennie, where his ancestors for the more part are buried. Upon which kind & louing legacie this epitaph following was devised:

*Cor patrie fixum viuens, iam redditur illi  
Post mortem patrie quae perierat venit.  
Non sine corde valet mortalis viatere quisquam,  
Vix tua gens vita permanet absque rina.  
Qualiter infelix extincto corde fructur,  
A tramen optato viuere corde nequit.  
Ergo quid hoc faciat? Quem re non possit amorem  
Cordi ut tam charo reddere corde velit?*

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished:

The liuing hart where laie ingrauen  
the care of countrie deere,  
To countrie liuelesse is restord  
and lies ingrauen here.  
None hartlesse liues, his countrie then  
alas what ioie is left,  
Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was  
till death his life bereft.  
And though the foile here throwds the hart,  
which mostie wisheth enioie,  
Yet of the change from nobler seat,  
the cause dooth it annoie.  
What honour then is due to him,  
for him what wordie rite?  
But that ech hart with hartiest loue,  
his worthiest hart may quite?

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than he would make or fauore vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Having bid at London (not long before his death) the laute Countesse of Bilkare to dinner, it happened that a souldier, surnamed Wolwe, who latelie returned fresh from the emperor his warres, came to take his repast with the earle before the messenger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this bolding Katterkin wholie then standing on the soldado high, placed himselfe right ouer against the countesse of Bilkare, hard at the earle of Desmond his elbow, as though he were halle fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert souldier (who notwithstanding might be borne withall, because an vnbidden guest knoweth not where to sit) besought him courteously to giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman vsher, placed in Wolwe his seat, his cousine Edward Fitzgerald, now lieutenant of his maiesties pensioners, who at that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie gentleman in his degre, to the number of fiftene or sixtene: and last of all the companie, he licenced Wolwe if he would, to sit at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbow room.

The countesse of Bilkare, perceiuing the noble man greatlie to stomach the souldier his presumptuous boldnesse, nipt him at the elbow, and whispering softlie, besought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, because the gentleman (she ment Wolwe) knew that the house of Bilkare was of late attempted, and that his children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded. So ladie (quoth the earle

This epitaph.

The kindness of James earle of Desmond to his friends.

Edward Fitzgerald.

The lord of the out Bils in

His epitaph.

The Irish shew the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Desmond his tollsome traitor well.

The deputie and Desmond at debate.

Desmond his letters intercepted.

The lord deputie and Desmond sent into England.

John Allen knight their lord chancelor of Ireland.

William Wolfe knight.

The earle of Desmond deceased.

1546

Desmond's epitaph.



earle with a lowd voice, and the tears trilling downe his teares, saie not so, I trust to see the date, when my yong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the compaignie of anie such skipiacke. Which prophesie fell out as trulie as he foretold it, onelie sauing that it was with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that date after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kilbare.

Sir Anthome  
Senteleger re-  
turneth lord  
deputie.

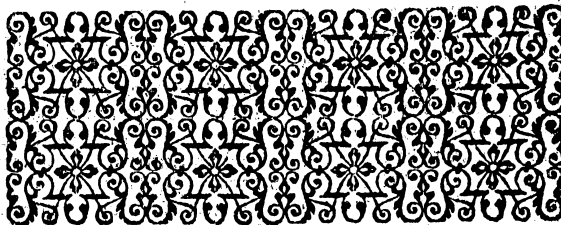
After this noble earle his untimelie decease, Sir Anthome Senteleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a valiant seruitor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properly learned, a good maker in the English, hating grauitie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an exceeding god grace he would attaine the one without pouting dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. There fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to buy that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell,

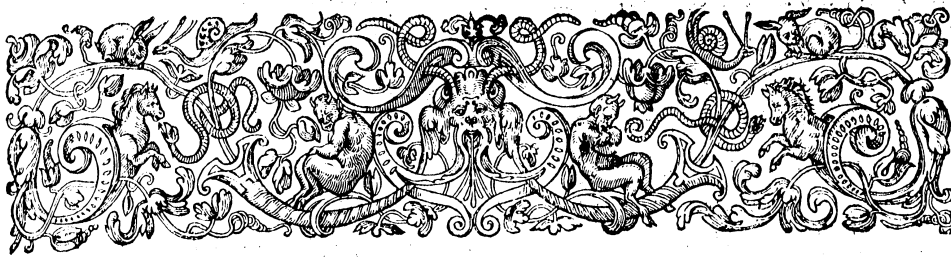
he answered merelie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would glue him fortie pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure uttered, than of anie vnconscionable meaning purposed to haue done.

This gouernement had bene of the countrie herie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to adde the pale with certein new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discourses of publike estates, and the reformers of the commonwealth, praiesing to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfully to accomplish the duties of god magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Island to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the vpholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in profe to the ruine and vndwring of the seker.

*Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretcht it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tolerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tolerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraught with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.*

FINIS.





# THE SUPPLIE OF THIS Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties *reigne, sir Iohn Perot residing deputie in Ireland.*

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie  
of Excester, gentleman.



*S from the time of Giraldus Cambren-  
sis (the best deserued and exact writer of the  
conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few  
or none haue followed and continued any per-  
fect course of that historie vntill the death  
of king Henrie the eight, and the begin-  
ning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and  
therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance  
can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet  
gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in times of  
warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records,  
which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens  
collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen  
so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen  
out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due ob-  
seruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie  
the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of  
remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in  
their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one  
from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect  
and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought  
to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle  
and*

## The Preface.

and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an uncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauils and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.



T

Mr. Inthos  
or Dentegeer  
published.



1547  
Mr. Edward  
Bellingham  
modeld by de-  
pute.

I mint in  
Dublin.

Mr. Edward  
Bellingham  
carefull in  
gouernment.

Hande of  
his of hopes  
kept.

His secret  
in his service.

Reighlin ab-  
be inclosed  
with a wall  
and made a  
fort.

time a  
be de  
ward  
well h  
e val  
ment  
fell of  
he wa  
his m  
the ci  
ned at  
ciatl  
like a  
mart  
to be  
dite  
and a  
thoug  
had t  
in ha  
as n  
befor  
for t  
in ha  
plac  
ned  
Def  
vpor  
good  
mini  
The  
close  
hout  
ther  
hous  
to g



# THE SVPPLE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord  
1586, and the 28 of the reigne of  
*queene Elisabeth.*



After the death  
of king Henrie  
the eight, sir An-  
thonie Sentleger  
knight, was re-  
uoked; who deliue-  
red by the sword  
at his departure  
vnto sir William  
Babston knight;  
and he was lord  
iustice, vntill such

the Autho-  
re sentleger  
reued.

1547  
the Edward  
Bellingham  
captain de-  
putie.

3 Martin  
Dublin.

the Edward  
Bellingham  
captain de-  
putie.

30  
the Edward  
Bellingham  
captain de-  
putie.

the Edward  
Bellingham  
captain de-  
putie.

Leighlin ab-  
sentleger  
sentleger  
sentleger

time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent over to  
be deputie. This man was seruant to king Ed-  
ward the first, and of his private chamber: a man verie  
well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout  
a valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his govern-  
ment. In his time there was a mint kept in the ca-  
stell of Dublin, which being at his commandement,  
he was the better able to do good seruice to the king  
his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In  
the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place lear-  
ned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a spe-  
ciall care for the doing of their offices; as he had the  
like care for good and expert captiues, to serue in the  
martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice  
to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sur-  
rie stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler,  
and some in one place and some in another, as he  
thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he  
had to do, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take  
in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priue,  
as none should haue any vnderstanding thereof,  
before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and  
for the most part, whensoever he took any iourne  
to hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what  
place he would ride, or what he would do. It happe-  
ned that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of  
Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where-  
vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought  
good, and without making them acquainted what he  
minded to do, took horse & rode to Leighlin bridge.  
The abbey there (being suppressed) he caused to be in-  
closed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that  
house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and  
there he furnished himselfe and all his men with  
horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in-  
to Spenser, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlooked and unthought of, the earle of  
he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by  
the fire, and there took him, and caried him with  
him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and  
in apparell, hauing for want of god nurture as much  
good maners as his kins and his followers could  
teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did  
so instruct, schole, and informe him, that he made a  
new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie  
in maners, apparell, and behauiours appertaining to  
his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of  
his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince;  
and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes  
an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This  
though it were verie strange to the earle, who ha-  
uing not bene trained vpon in any ciuillitie, knew  
not what appertained to his dutie and calling: nei-  
ther yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king  
his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested  
and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe  
most happie that euer he was acquainted with the  
said deputie, and did for euer after so much hono-  
r him, as that continually all his life time at euery  
dinner and supper, he would praye for the good sir  
Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was  
so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where  
soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no  
man; but would be at his owne charge. It happe-  
ned that traueilling the countrie, he was lodged on  
a night in vicount Balinglasses house, where all  
things were verie plentifullie provided for him:  
which the vicount thought to haue given and bestow-  
ed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he com-  
manded his steward to paie & discharge all things,  
thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused  
his intertainment; saieing: The king my maister  
hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me  
therein for my charges and expences: wherefore,  
neither mate nor will be burdalous nor chargeable  
to any other man. He was verie erquisit & carefull  
in the gouernement, as few before him the like; af-  
well in matters martiall, as politike, magnani-  
mous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling  
of the enimie; and as seuer a byright in the other, to  
the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flat-  
terie could he be gained, nor by byberie be corrup-  
ted;

The earle is  
rude without  
nurture.

The earle is  
rude without  
nurture.

The earle is  
rude without  
nurture.

The earle  
prayer for  
Edward Bel-  
lingham.

The lord de-  
putie would  
be chargeable  
to none.

The god go-  
uernment of  
this deputie.

Sir Edward  
Bingham  
well beloved.

1548  
Sir Francis  
Bian lord  
justice.

Sir Francis  
Bian married  
the countess of  
Ormond, died  
and was bur-  
ied at Water-  
ford.

1549  
Sir William  
Babston  
lord justice.

1550  
Sir Anthony  
Sentleger  
lord deputie  
the second  
time.

1551  
Sir James  
Croft lord  
deputie.

1552  
Sir Antho-  
nic Sentle-  
ger lord de-  
putie the third  
time.

A fall best-  
nie to euerie  
good gouernoz  
to be flande-  
red.

1555  
The lord  
Fitzwaters  
made lord de-  
putie.

1555  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie and  
Coxen lord  
justices.

ted; he was feared for his seueritie, and beloued for his integritie; and no gouernoz for the most vnfluc-  
salie better reported of than was he. But as ver-  
tue hath the contrarie to enemie, so he found it true:  
for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation  
not byoking to worzle a man, who travelled all the  
waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of  
themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforme  
that corrupt state of gouernement, that great pae-  
tices and deuises were made for his reuocation; and  
matters of great importance informed and enforced  
against him. Whereupon, before two yeares en-  
ded of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir  
Francis Bian made lord iustice. At his comming  
into England, great matters were laid vnto his  
charge: but he so effectualie did answer the same,  
that his maiesties doubtfulnesse was resolved; & he  
not onelie clared, but also better liked than euer he  
was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe,  
had he not alleged his infirmittie; the which was a  
fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted  
for his excuse. Sir Francis Bian had married the  
countesse of Ormond, and by that meanes he was  
a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in  
the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was  
but short, & no great matters could in so short a time  
be done by him. After his death, sir William Bab-  
ston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he conti-  
nued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthony Sentleger  
came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second  
time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & ex-  
perience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet  
there remained some coles of the fire in his first go-  
uernement vnuenched; and within a shorter time  
than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James  
Croft was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill  
successe in good attempts did not answer his va-  
lour and good deserts.

And albeitt the time of his gouernement were  
not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king  
Edward the first, and then he was called home, and  
sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were  
appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the  
estate, vntill quene Marie sent ouer sir Anthony  
Sentleger: who now the third time was lord de-  
putie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and  
vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well ac-  
quainted in the courtes of that land, knew how to  
mate with the enemies, and how to staie all magi-  
strates and others in their duties and offices: for  
which though he deserued well, and ought to be be-  
loued and commended: yet the old practises were re-  
newed, and manie slanderous informations were  
made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall  
bestie, and inenitable to euerie good gouernoz in  
that land. For the more paines they take in tillage,  
the worse is their haruest; and the better be their ser-  
uices, the greater is the malice and enuie against  
them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which  
the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels he hur-  
led at him. Well, this man is called home, and the  
lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie.  
At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters  
were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduer-  
saries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same a-  
gainst him: wherein he so answered, that he was  
not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge  
for euer to passe ouer and more into so vnthankfull  
a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a  
short time of his being there, was sent for into Eng-  
land. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie  
then tresuroz at warres, and doctor Coxen, were  
for a time ioint lord iustices: but verie shortlie af-  
ter,

a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to  
be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the  
lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe  
and resumed his former office of deputie. After  
that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with  
the Dnele. For the whole north part of Ireland be-  
gan to be vniquieted, and for preuenting of sundrie  
inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish  
Ilanders in aiding the said Dnele, the lord de-  
putie made a iourneie and boiage into the said Iles,  
to soine them into his friendship. In his absence,  
he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but  
after that he had done his businesse, he returned a-  
gaine to Dublin, where he remained and continued  
in his office vntill the death of quene Marie, and  
then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time.  
And after some time spent there, and quene Eliza-  
beth now settled in the imperiall crowne of Eng-  
land, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of  
Ireland to perfozme those seruices, which before he  
had taken in hand: who did verie great good ser-  
uice against the Irishie, and by meanes he toke  
the Dnele, and kept him prisoner in the castell of  
Dublin: but yet before he could do this bying the  
same to perfection, he was reuoked into England,  
and left the land in a verie broken state; which was  
committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made  
lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well  
liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the  
councell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the  
honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place,  
who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruitor in  
that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene trea-  
suroz at warres, which is the second office vnder the  
lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord iu-  
stice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his  
knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that  
land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of  
the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others  
in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue  
the gouernement of them. He was therefore called  
from out of Wales, where he then resided in his go-  
uernement vnto the court: and there after con-  
ference had with hir highnesse, and with the councell;  
he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, be-  
ing the seventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the  
yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he received of  
hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir  
olone hand, dated the fift of October 1565, the  
seventh yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning  
the principall articles for his gouernement & direc-  
tion, which chieslie consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell  
established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the  
gouernement of the same realme in times of peace  
and of warre; and whose names were then particu-  
larlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of  
them should before their admission be sworn by the  
said lord deputie, according to the accustomed man-  
ner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as hir  
maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence  
in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and ser-  
uices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises,  
assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and  
consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and au-  
thoritie wherevnto hir maiestie had called the said  
sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold his place in that realme:  
they should yeld that obedience and reuerence vnto  
him, as to such a principall officer both aperteyne.  
And then they both together, to haue a speciall care  
and regard to the gouernement, which was com-  
mitted

The Dnele  
and althe  
north be-  
cometh  
quiet.

1555  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
justice the  
fourth time.

1557  
The earle  
Sussex lord  
lieutenant.

1564  
Sir Nicholas  
Arnold lord  
justice.

1566  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
deputie.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie  
president of  
Wales.

A booke of  
instructions  
deliuered to  
sir Henrie  
Sidneie  
for his go-  
uernment.

By connect-  
ing his  
establishment.

Enuie  
reloz to  
savour.

God lawes  
to be kept, and  
christian reli-  
gion to be  
bided.

Learning of  
the scriptures  
to be mainte-  
ned.

The church  
lands not to  
be alienated.

The lawes to  
be well admi-  
nistered.

Shrivers to  
be appointed in  
curethire.

The garisons  
to be well  
bided.

A muster to be  
kept euerie  
moneth.

The regard  
to be had of  
hir maiesties  
reuerence.

That euerie  
officer of res-  
cepte do  
yearlie mak  
his account.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie re-  
beth his lea-  
ue of the queene  
and councell

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie



sed in foure articles that do ordeie hereafter fol-  
low.

The said foure articles were these.

**F**irst, that they should faithfully and earnestly regard the due and reuerend obseruation of all Gods lawes and ordinaunces, made and established for the maintenance of the true christian faith and religion among his people; and that all meanes should be used, as well by doctrine and by teaching, as by good examples, that deuotion and godlinesse might increase, and contempt of religion might be restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning in the scriptures might be maintained and increased among the cleergie, and that for the reliefe of the ecclesiasticall state, no alienations nor waikes of the lands pertaining to any church or college, should be alienated: neither any impropriations of benefices be put in use: besides sundrie other articles incident to this effect.

**T**he second was, that the administration of law and iustice should duly and diligently be executed, without respect of persons: that inquirie be made what notable faults are in any of the iudges, or other ministers of the law: that unfit persons male be removed from their places, and some sufficient persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in euery countie, and to execute their offices diligently, according to the lawes of England.

**T**he third, that the garrisons and men of warre be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and suppressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they do line according to the orders appointed, without oppression of the good and true subiects. That there shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster made either by the lord deputie, or by such commissioners as he shall appoint mete and indifferent for that purpose; who shall make inquirie of the number of the souldiours vnder euery capteine; for the sufficiency of their persons, their horses, armours, and weapons, and other their necessities: and how they were paid of their wages, and whether they were Englishmen or not.

**T**he fourth article was, whether there had bene had a due care & regard to the preservation of the revenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that which is withdrawne. And whether euery of the officers appointed for the receiving of any part of the said revenues, as namelie the receivers of rents, shiriffes, exchequers, collectors of the subsidies, customs, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and such others, did yearely make and answer their accounts; and besides sundrie other articles incident to euery of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his commission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition he could, to followe the great charge committed vnto him: which being done, he repaired to his maiestie and took his leave: and to his farewell, he gaue him most comfortable speeches and good counsels, promising his fauor and countenance to all his well doings, and a consideration for the same when time should serue. The like leaue he took also of the lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the like farewell: and these things done, he departed towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long time for a good wind and passage, he took ship, and arrived in Ireland the thirtieth of Januarie, about five miles from Dublin, and from thence he traueled to Dublin; where he was most honorably recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the whole counsell; together with the maior and his brethren of that citie. And the people in great troops came and saluted him, clapping and shouting with all the ioy that they could deuise.

The next sabbath then next following, being the seventh date of his arrivall, and the twentieth of the moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie named Christes church; where after that the divine service was done, he took his oath, receiued the sword, and assumed vpon him the gouernement; and wherewith he made a most pittie, wise, and eloquent oration, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The first, what a precious thing is good gouernement, and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and countries do flourish and prosper, where the same is ordeie, in equitie, iustice, and wise dome, directed & gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the quenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of England, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestly desireth, and wisheth to be preferred, as well in peace as in warre: that she hath made great choise from time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skillfull, and expert men of armes for the other: that both in peace and warres, the publike state of the commonwealth, and euery particular member therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the performance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the revenues of the crowne of Ireland, did pearleie far above any of his progenitors, expend of his owne cofers out of England, great masses of monie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All which his excellent expenses and continuall cares she made the lesse account of; so that his realme and subiects of Ireland might be preferred, defended, and gouerned.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue made better choise of manie others, who were better able to hold his place in this realme, both for honor, wise dome, and experience: yet his pleasure was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon him. Which he was the more unwilling to take vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the more unable & weak he was to susteine the same. Neuertheless, being in god hope, and well promised of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well doings, and hauing his confidence in them his highnesse counsellors associated vnto him, to ioyne aid, and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the commonwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme and people of the same. And so making his earnest request to the said lords present, for their continuing with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in this his maiesties service, he made an end of his speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the great value and weight of this his graue and wise oration, did most humbly thanke his lordship for the same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and obedience to performe and attend whatsoeuer to them in any wise should apperteine. These things done, they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honorable manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common people in euery street and corner meeting him, and with great acclamations and ioy did congratulat vnto his lordship his comming among them in that office. Immediatlie after the performance of all

A. G. the

fullie receiued into Dublin.

The benefit of good gouernement.

The quenes maiesties continual care for Ireland.

The quenes maiesties expenditure yearlie out of his owne cofers for Ireland sundrie thousand of pounds.

The congratulation of the people.

the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which his highness had appointed, admitted, and allotted to be of his maiesties privie counsell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waite and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken commonweale and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and bites, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that land was ever miserable and in perill to be overthrowne: it was neuer more like than at these presentes; for as for the English pale, it was overwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who daily by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poor, and the commons in such extreme penurie, that they had not houses, armes, nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, vittells, nor any other necessities to releue them; the soldiors so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so rooted in insolencie, loosenesse and idlenesse, that vniuersally the remedie were the more spædie, they would be past correction: and so much the worse, because manie of them were allied in marriage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their trust and seruice more doubtfull to his maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Tols, Obzines, Kinselaghies, Dooles, Dmoughs, Carenaughs, the Spozes, and the residue in their accustomable manners wholly bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of anye safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

The broken  
state of Ire-  
land.

The English  
pale wasted  
and spoiled.

The soldiors  
beggerlie and  
out of order.

The misera-  
ble state of  
Leinster.

The fertile  
soile of the  
countie of  
Kilkennie  
made wast.

Downfall by  
civil war de-  
stroyed.

Thomond all  
wasted by ci-  
uill warres.

Connagh de-  
uoured by ci-  
uill warres.

The gentle-  
men all im-  
poverished.

Ulster wast-  
like and rich.

Downfall, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the earle of Desmond, made that prouince, and especiallie the countie of Tipperarie and Kierie, being wealthie and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom his maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waite was for their recoverie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become his highnesses loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle there and sir Donell Obzien. Desmond likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Desmond, and by the daily inuasions and prizes of Piers Grace was almost wasted and inhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthie, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the earle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impouerished, partly by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partly by the particular discords among themselves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout, want in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the daily prizes made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and releue themselves nor their families. The prouince of Ulster for wealth

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the prizes and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifullnesse, and obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disobedient. For after that Shane O'Neill by blood and murder had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the roste, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing anye equall. And here it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause whye the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con O'Neill, the first earle of Aron, had two sonnes, Mattheu and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con O'Neill, and to retaine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countrie, he made and created him earle of Aron, and his eldest son Mattheu he made baron of Dungannon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Mattheu, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, envied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarrell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorously and vnnaturalie murdered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuertheless, it is not known that the said Shane did offer him anye violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeede into the earledome, by reason that Mattheu his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeede the grandfather: yet Shane usurped the name of O'Neill, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whom the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of anye house or familie doth succeede his ancestor, vniuersally at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclaimeth himselfe O'Neill, and the capitaine of his countrie, refuseth likewise all obedience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Shone then lord iustice, in the absence of the earle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the counsell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iourneie towards Dundalke, for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane O'Neill, who then late at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieing pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship that it would please him to chaffise a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for his maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honozable to the lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might insue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordingly vpon the last of Ianuarie, one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said

Shane O'Neill.

The earle of Shane O'Neill.

Con O'Neill made earle of Aron.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane O'Neill the first of his name.

Shane's house, and there his lordship and Jaques  
Canningfield were godfathers, and having performed  
the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of  
the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his do-  
ings, did allege for his defense sundrie articles as fo-  
loweth.

First, he said that M'atthew baron of Dungan-  
nor was the sonne of one Bellaie of Dundalkie, a  
smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the  
spousals of the said Bellaie, and one Alton his wife,  
and that the said M'atthew was alwaies taken and  
reputed to be the sonne of the said Bellaie, untill he  
was of the age of firtene yeares or thereabouts: at  
which time Con Dneile his father, upon the saleng  
of the said Alton, that he was the father of the said  
M'atthew, did accept and take the said M'atthew to  
be his sonne, & gaue him the name of M'ardarough.  
And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this  
countrie; which is, that if anie woman do murther  
hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue  
all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during  
their abode together, except such as the shall name to  
be begotten by anie other man: which man so named  
shall by their custome haue the said child: and so  
it should seme to be meant of this point. Also  
the said M'atthew did vpon this the affirmation of  
his mother seke to blurpe the name of a feignozie  
of the Dneiles, and the dominions appertaining to  
that feignozie and surname. Also that there be aboue  
a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise  
yeeld to this the claime of M'atthew, although he for  
his owne part would be contented therewith. Also  
he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that  
should intitile the sonne of the said baron to the said  
lands are vtterlic void, because that Con Dneile  
father to the said Shane had no other right nor inter-  
est to that countrie, but during his owne life: and  
therefore without the consent of the lordes and inha-  
bitants of that countrie, could make no surrender  
nor conuenance, whereby he might be enabled to take  
and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English  
pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie  
person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inqui-  
sition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the  
letters patents do passe: which in this case neither  
was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron  
is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should accor-  
ding to the quenes lawes descend to the right heire,  
then in right it ought to descend to him, as next beire  
being mulierlic bozne; and the other not so bozne.  
Also he saith, that vpon the death of his father lord  
of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the  
custome of the countrie did assemble themselves to-  
gether, and by a common consent did elect and chose  
(without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to  
be Dneile, as the most worthy and ablest of that  
countrie. Which election by the custome of the coun-  
trie hath bene alwaies vsed without anie confirma-  
tion, asked of the kings and quenes of England.  
Also he saith that as Dneile he claimesuch authori-  
ties, iurisdiccions, and duties vpon his men & coun-  
trie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessozs,  
and which duties for the most part are recorded, and  
remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at  
full heard these articles, and considered well of them  
together with the counsell, made answer vnto Shane  
that the matter was of great weight and impor-  
tance, & which neither he nor the counsell cold defer-  
mine of themselves, before hir maiestie were made  
priuie and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the  
meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and  
to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto hir maiestie,  
nothing doubting but that he should haue and re-

ceiue at hir hands, what should be found met, right,  
and iust.

And so hauing vsed manie good and frendlie  
speeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane  
promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and ho-  
nestlie, & as to his dutie should appertaine; they de-  
parted in verie frendlie manner. And thus in such  
wisdom and politike manner the lord iustice hand-  
led the matter, that by temporizing and gaining of  
time all matters were pacified, and so continued vnto  
till the coming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord de-  
putie: who then of a newe toke the matter in hand,  
and he did so frendlie and seuerlie follow the same,  
that he ouermatched Shane Dneile. But it so gre-  
ued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he disem-  
bled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well  
yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed  
nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his  
haires but neuer changeth his conditions, was one  
and the same man or rather worfe, and therefore  
tyrannized and vsed most cruelle, and of all others  
most disolall and disobedient: to the deputie would  
be not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with  
him, but at his owne pleasure.

The quenes maiestie in some termes he would  
honor, but in dedes he denied all obedience, subtil  
and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but  
in the residue of the daie verie vncertaine and vn-  
stable, and much giuen to excessiue gulping and sur-  
fetting. And albeit he had most commonlie two  
hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dun-  
drum, & had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer sa-  
tisfied, till he had swallowed vp marvellous great  
quantities of Wiske bagh or Aqua vite of that coun-  
trie: whereof so vnmeasurable he would drinke and  
bouse, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie,  
which by that meanes was most extremelie infla-  
med and distempered, he was effones conuised (as  
the common report was) into a deepe pit, and stan-  
ding vpright in the same, the earth was cast round  
about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did re-  
maine untill such time as his bodie was recovered  
to some temperature: by which meanes though he  
came after in some better plight for the time, yet his  
manners and conditions daile worfe. And in the  
end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and  
insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize  
ouer the whole countrie, greatlie it was feared that  
his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the  
whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, euen  
as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the ma-  
ner of the great Turke, was continually garbed  
with six hundred armed men, as it were his Jani-  
saries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into  
the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand  
footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husband-  
men of his countrie with armour and weapons, and  
trained them vp in the knowledge of the wars: and  
as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he  
all the people to his becke and commandement, be-  
ing feared and not beloued.

Diverse meanes and waies were practised and  
vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying  
and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time  
to time sent vnto him; for about the same, who  
sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as  
backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ire-  
land there was the lesse doubt to recouer them, by  
reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had con-  
sumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this  
man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be cha-  
stised, and with force be reduced to conformities.  
Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the  
matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

Shane D-  
neile promi-  
sed to be  
quick.

Shane Dneile  
became a  
tyrant and  
a rebel.

Shane Dneile  
a drunkard  
and a surfer-  
ter.

Shane Dneile  
buried in the  
ground after  
his drunken-  
nesse.

Shane D-  
neile's force.

The peasants  
in Ulster train-  
ed up in  
warre.

# The Chronicles of Ireland.

114

Postis set be-  
tweene Ire-  
land & Lon-  
don.

The misera-  
ble state of  
Ireland.

No God nor  
religion in  
Ireland.

of him alwaie. And because in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisements should go to and from his maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciproke, there should be set posts appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogether denoured with robberies, murders, riots, diseases, civill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to his highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and towne: and yet the one being gentlemen and living by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intolerable miseries binnersallie reigning, this one exceeded all the rest, that there was scarce a God knowen; and if known, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is knowen, the prince obeyed, no lawes current, no gouernement accepted, and all things inforced in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome: Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneye now lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daillie assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherein his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefe of the counsell, then toined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe dyuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the O'Neill and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue thereunto.

At this present time the earles of Desmond and Desimond were in England, and the quarrels and controversies growen betwene them were daillie examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And because their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best knowen, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the quenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound each of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder his highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the forsaide examinations. But in the meane time whilst these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Desmond, which things were verie shortly after appeased. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimoze an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Connaught, hauing verie great possessions, and laie still in

The earles of  
Desmond and  
Desimond  
submit them-  
selves to the  
quenes order.

Sir John of  
Desmond  
spoileth the  
earle of Des-  
monds lands.

peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance misliked both their doings.

This man made his humble sute to his maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto his maiesties highnesse, and to recognize his dutie and allegiance to his, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from his againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which his maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to his crowne, did for the worthinesse of his blood & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that realme; & for his further advancement created him an earle under his letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane O'Neill, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of his highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, brauing out speeches not meet nor seemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wife earle of Mac Artimoze, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quene is my loue, reigne ladic, yet I neuer made peace with his, but at his seeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Ulster, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for to meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in blood and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he inioined not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, whereby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Now his maiestie, being graued and annoyed with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him cleaerlie rooted out, or chastised: but therein she was stayed, being bozne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yeeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now she seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be utterlie extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Anolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the twentieth of Maie 1566, aswell concerning these matters of waite, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordingly things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittells were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph coronell of the footmen, and sundrie other capitaine arrived with their souldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

Shane O'Neill  
more further  
deceitfully  
lands to the  
quene & to  
bring in of  
the

Shane O'Neill  
more made  
earle of Clancare.

Shane O'Neill  
notie looking  
at the earle  
Clancare.

The great  
townes of  
Shane O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill  
notie for  
payde and  
ramme downe  
merchandise  
before Earl  
maile.

Shane O'Neill  
beliegeth  
Dundalk, &  
is repelled.

1565

Coronell Randolph  
arrives at the  
Dirri where he  
intrencheth  
himselfe.

The lord de-  
putie cometh  
to the Dirri  
and setteth  
things in o-  
der for the  
seruice.

O'Neill in-  
curreth  
Dirrie an  
offence sui-  
mily.

Sir Francis  
Anolles first  
into Ireland  
1566

convenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his maiestie; and at a lode of his manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustered all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And glorying much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to adventure upon him: he marcheth into the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besetgeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and he had the repulse, being with shame diuised to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much head, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserved commendation: which perforce and manure of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Kandalph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arrived at the Dirrie with seven hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the counsell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of any thing, untill the coming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane Dneile.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through Donells countrie, and so through Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen vnder the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornelwall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisite. Shane Dneile who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now upon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie a thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen honour and range the fields, and shew himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell not liking these ballie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour unto him, and all the English nation, which were come ouer to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were ballie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sickness in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and unable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remove him from his so nere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three

hundred men, whom he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen vnder capteine George Heruie, marched toward Dneiles campe, who pretending a great ioy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; persuading himselfe that he should that daie be master of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell made chosse of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. Dneile in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronells footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some slaie. Whereupon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most balliantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of Dneile. Likewise coronell Kandalph with his few horsemen gaue the charge upon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie balliantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonished and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whom the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase above foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell onelie was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funeralle the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last onethree so quailed the spirits and courages of Dneile and his companie, that they had no desire of any further incountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to adventure some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels late were blowne up with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sick there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his captains together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Heruie: for he rather did chosse to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towardes Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about Dneile, and in all places throughout Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of his maiestie. And yet considering the great

The coronell prepared to fight with Dneile.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Kandalph is slaine.

Dneile and his companie, sic, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 500.

The lord deputie kepeth the coronell Kandalphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth the Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by sea.

Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

Shane Dneile being repelled.

1565

Coronell Kandalph arriveth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and leaveth all things in order for the enimie.

Dneile incampeth nere the Dirrie and offereth battell.

Sir Francis Knolles sent into Ireland, 1566



The lord deputie maketh a tourne into Ulster.

1566

The pusillanimitie of the O'Neill.

Donnell restored unto his possessions.

The lord deputie recovereth a great countie in Ulster unto the crowne.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

importance of the service, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a tourne into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capitaine and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Kossle Breagh, & so from thence he travelled throughout Ulster, and passed thence unto Athlon in Connaught, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this tourne the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anye fight at all: saving once at and nere a wood not far from Clogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gave the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Tirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but toke his ease and durst not to give the adventure. In this tourne the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castles, kept by O'Neill from him; & sundrie lordes and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships tourne he recovered to his highnesse a countie of foure score miles in length, and eight and forty miles in breadth, without losse of anye man savinge Mac Swier, who being sicke died in this tourne; and savinge a few persons which by the waie upon an occasion would adventure the winning of a certeine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enemies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Immediately upon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Spounster, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Desmond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Thomas Fitzgiralde of the Decies; but he did not hurt anye man at all: savinge one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloyall savage man. The lord deputie being overlaid with the continuall cares to resist O'Neill, could not in person travell into Spounster, nor yet without great perill disaibe his armie: wherefore he sent capitaine Herne constable of Leighlin unto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendment and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be revenged upon the earle of Desmond, although the rumor was, that he would confaine with O'Neill. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delate, toke his horse, and having in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capitaine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships denotion, either to go and attend him unto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get: the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serve in Ulster in despite of Shane O'Neill; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine upon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed unto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifullnesse to his maiestie,

as was meet for a subject to shew to his soveraigne. The deputie having some liking of his offers, and considering the sickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crewe of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within fourtene daies: which he did; and with him came sir John Desmond, his uncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Roch, and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Marham Sentleger, and capitaine Herne, did remaine upon the borders, untill his lordships returne from out of his tourne in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infected with the cruell warres of O'Neill and the troubles in Spounster, so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs unto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against another. For Oliver Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certaine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same; and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were grievously complained upon by the ladie of Dunboine, Mac Bryan Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William McCarell, and others: for their daile outrages, robberies, murders, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appeasing of such matters, and for the better ministracion of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and councell for a chancelor to be sent over, who at length were resolved upon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Julie 1567, a notable and a singular man: by profession a lawyer, but in life a divine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so severe therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or swayed from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his byright, diligent, and dutifull service; as that the whole realme found the mischiefes most haply and blessed to have him serve among them. Now he taking upon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the lord deputie, who immediately upon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he toke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such convenient places upon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & convenient. The rebell on his part leaveth nothing undone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great sollicitie of himselfe devised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire invaded the countie, Que manie of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalk: where his pride and treason were insupportable scoured, who came not with so much gloire to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leave and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode upon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had unfeathered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countie, as is before said, gained from him the last tourne, Mac Swier, a mightie man in his countie, forsooke him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithful service, and to receive his lands and countie at his highnesse hands.

Alexander

The earle of Desmond secretly in the English pale.

The lord deputie taketh care that he be not taken by the Dublin.

The O'Neill outcried of all comfort in doubt who to do.

O'Neill his owne consents come comeneth him to seek submittion.

O'Neill see: keth for help of the Scot.

The Scot doth disguise with O'Neill

Shane O'Neill by the Scots by: draught m by capitaine Piers.

Shane O'Neill head upon the t of the castle Dublin.

The O'Neill enters the English pale with sword and fire.

The O'Neill besiegeth Dundalk the second time, and departeth with great bitterness.

The O'Neill is taken of his friends.

The earle of Desmond  
serveth in the  
English pale.

Alister Don-  
ton complai-  
neth against  
the earle of  
Kildare.

The lord of  
Donboine  
complai-  
neth against  
the Butlers.

1567  
Doctor We-  
ston made  
lord of Ire-  
land.

The O'Neills  
entereth the  
English pale  
with sword  
and fire.  
The O'Neills  
besiege  
Dundalk the  
second time,  
and departed  
with great  
dishonour.  
The O'Neills  
are forsaken of  
their friends.  
The O'Neills  
are forsaken of  
the Scots.

The lord de-  
putie cometh  
to the pale  
to see what  
he doth.

The O'Neills  
are com-  
mitted to  
custodie what  
he doth.

The lord de-  
putie cometh  
to the pale  
to see what  
he doth.

The lord de-  
putie cometh  
to the pale  
to see what  
he doth.

The Scots  
are discom-  
fited by the  
O'Neills.

The O'Neills  
are com-  
mitted to  
custodie what  
he doth.

The lord de-  
putie cometh  
to the pale  
to see what  
he doth.

Alister under Og and Pac Donnell offer to serve  
hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder the. against  
the rebell. Con Donnell late deliuered from the re-  
bell, offereth service against him. Tirlogh Lennough  
with the helps of his neighbours daile backed the  
said O'Neills, that his force was qualified that waie.  
The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments  
residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as  
it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of  
the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also  
issue out, and in one morning toke a preie of two  
thousand nine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other  
small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe  
thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps  
and followers, his men, some by O'Donnell, and some  
by others to the number of thre or foure thousand  
persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his  
passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuen-  
ted, and now but one poore castell left wherein he tru-  
sted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weak-  
ned, and beholding his declination and fall towards,  
was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe,  
and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter  
about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie,  
and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit him-  
selfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find  
mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience  
was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with in-  
finit and most horrible murders, bloodsheds, trea-  
sons, whoredomes, drunkennesse, robberies, bur-  
nings, spoiles, oppessions, and with all kinds of wic-  
kednesse, that his heart was ouerlaid and ouerla-  
den with an vtter despaire to obtaine any grace or  
fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persua-  
ded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie  
first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that  
they would ioinc and aid him in his most wicked re-  
bellion. Whereupon he toke his iourne towards  
Clandeboy, where Alexander Og and his companie,  
to the number of six hundred persons, were then in-  
camped: and for the better gaining of his purpose,  
he had a little before enlarged Charleie Boie brother  
to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner  
with him.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, preten-  
ding and promising him aid and assistance: which  
they ment not. For as soon as O'Neills together with  
O'Donnells wife, whom he kept, & the small companie  
which he brought with him were come into the tent,  
and they assured of him; they called to remembrance  
the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his  
hands, and namelie the murdering of one James  
Pac Conell, & one Pac Guille their nere cousins  
and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious  
minds to reuenge their deaths, they fell to quarrelling  
with the said Shane O'Neills, and with their slaugh-  
ter swords helved him to peeces, and slue all those  
of his companie that were with him: his bodie they  
wrapped in a kernes shirt, and so without all hono-  
was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and  
there interred; but after a few daies he was taken  
up againe by capteine Piers, by whose deuise this  
stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his  
head was hanged from the bodie, and sent to the lord  
deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or  
pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for  
such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked  
traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in  
blood, did continue it with blood, and ended it with  
blood. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and  
aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust  
iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same pro-  
strated himselfe before the high and eternall God,  
and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the

delinerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrile-  
gier and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed  
that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir  
maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good  
successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made  
his repaire into Alister, and incamped himselfe in  
the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all  
the noblemen and gentlemen of Eiron being glad  
that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their  
repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they  
which were competitors of the capteinrie of Eiron,  
who most humble and obedientlie presented and  
submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when  
his lordship had set all things in such order as the  
time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the  
countrie, and most pithilie and effectually in struc-  
ted and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them  
the great blessings of God which cometh thereby,  
as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences,  
miseries and calamities they had felt by the contra-  
rie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he  
promised shortly to send commissioners amongst  
them, who should haue authoritie to decide all con-  
trouersies betwene partie and partie (title of land  
and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties  
peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen  
and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed ex-  
ercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon  
their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a  
god will would giue them: and so publishing peace  
vniuersallie, euery man departed home iofullie.  
The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and  
commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who late for  
an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the cas-  
tell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters  
of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of  
Iulie 1567. The quenes maiestie being deliuered  
from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Alister  
at hir commandement and disposition, was verie  
desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, wher-  
by the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer  
into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skilfull in that art,  
and that he should make the perfect descriptions of  
the same. Likewise also the being aduertised of the  
outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in  
maintaining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of  
warres against the earle of Desmond (whose inso-  
lencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle,  
was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile  
of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great  
murders, bloodsheds, and vndoeing of manie people)  
the lord deputie by hir letters to appre-  
hend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the  
castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both  
he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent  
into England, and there committed to the tower.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were  
appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and god or-  
der, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties  
letters for his repaire into England vnto hir pre-  
sence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe therevnto,  
to, and by a commission vnder hir brode seale of Ire-  
land did appoint doctor Welles then lord chancelor,  
and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars,  
to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them  
being verie well learned, iust, and bright; the other  
verie wise, & of great knowledge and experience,  
in the affaires of that land. Both which two being  
like well minded to do hir maiestie service, did most  
louinglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one adui-  
sing and aduertising the other according to the seuer-  
all gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by  
which meanes they passed their government verie  
well

The quene  
aduertised of  
Shane O'Neills  
death.

The noblemen  
of Alister, be-  
ing glad of  
O'Neills death,  
do submit  
themselves.

Orders giuen  
by the lord de-  
putie to the  
noble men of  
Alister.

O'Neills sonne  
is committed to  
safe custodie.

Robert Leeth  
sent into Ire-  
land to draw a  
true plot of the  
whole land.

The earle of  
Desmond  
committed to  
ward, and sent  
to the tower,  
together with  
his brother sir  
John Des-  
mond.

1567  
Doctor We-  
ston and sir  
William Fitz-  
williams  
made lords  
iustices.

Sir Henrie Sidneie 102d  
departed  
sith into  
England, and  
carried with  
him the earle  
of Desmond.

Ed. Mulineux.

Sir Edmund  
Butler breake  
th out into  
outrages.

The pater of  
Spac Arne  
Hore earle of  
Clancart.

The earle of  
Clancart ma-  
keth waues  
vpon the lord  
Koch.  
James Fitz-  
moris maketh  
warre vpon  
the baron of  
Lixenew.

The archb-  
shop of Cashell  
in danger to  
be killed.

Sir Peter  
Carew ma-  
keth sute to  
hir maiestie  
for the recon-  
erie of his  
lands in Ire-  
land.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said Sir Henrie having placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Connor Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was Sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland. Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcome to hir. After the lesse, after his departure, the particular grudges betwene some certein men, brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as Sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgerald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Connors and Moores proclaimed traitors, and having in the field a thousand of Galloglasses, horsemen, and bowmen, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Dearell of his countrie. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgerald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuerge, leaning to seeke reuerge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The earle of Clancart was puffed vp with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Spac Swaines, Molluan Hore, and others of the Irishie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Koches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroyed all the corne therein, seven hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried away sixtine hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priue displeasures, yet trouble some to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure here in. About this time one Horice a runnigate priest, hauing lately bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arrived into Ireland, and made challenge to the same see: which being denied unto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenly with an Irish kaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare Sir Peter Carew of Mounsterstreie in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onlie barons of Carew in England; but marqueses of Corke, barons of Moun, and lords of Mounswete; and sundrie other legnories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended unto him: he made the quens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted unto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships severall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to asse and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

good meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who having by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of Sir Peter Carew: then the said Sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Moun, then in the possession of Sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Moun, then in the occupation of the Caucnaughs.

The first, when it was found good in law, and Sir Christopher Chiuers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was traucted before the lord deputie and counsell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and proses; a decree passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of Sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recovered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records do impart, about the eighteenth yeare of King Richard the second. But as for the marquethip of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in any quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arrived at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and took the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediate following.

That Sir Edmund Butler had made a preie in Shillelagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgerald, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certein seruices in the countie of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwene the earle of Clancart, and Spac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwene Mounell and Connor Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Mounaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Koch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certein outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and preie the countie to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certaintie thereof, immediate vpon his landing in Ireland he made a iourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh O'Neill, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie vpon Fernelie, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and vaine harleie obtained, and not untill his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Peter  
Carew  
into Ireland.

Sir Peter  
Carew by a  
decree recei-  
veth the bar-  
onie of Moun.

1568  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneie re-  
turneth lord  
deputie.

The state  
of Ireland then  
in.

Connagh  
reasonablie  
peace.

Mounster  
all in  
disorder.

Turlogh  
Lenogh  
neglecteth  
the peace, but  
suborneth  
himselfe.

Parlement  
summoned  
at  
Dublin.

The lord  
chancelor  
his  
opinion.

Scotsmen  
chosen to be  
keepers of  
lower house

nt the  
search  
more  
3 trea-  
ceeing  
en the  
, and  
1, then  
night,  
pation

Sir Peter  
Carro polleth  
into Ireland,  
pation

nd fir-  
ed for  
cupitie  
ubens  
e lords  
arew,  
nd by  
: baro-  
is; as  
yeare  
e mar-  
weight  
r then  
: then  
: Hen-  
gland,  
n Tre-  
ptem-  
nt by  
. And  
fourth  
lie of  
n food  
imure

Sir Peter  
Carro by a  
decree recu-  
reth the baro-  
nie of Wex-  
ford.

1568  
Sir Henrie  
Sidmore-  
turneth lord  
deputie.

Parlement  
summoned at  
Dublin.

The lord  
deputie his  
exon.

The state that  
Ireland stood  
in.

Connagh in  
reasonable  
peace.

Oppositer out  
of order.

tie be-  
tweene  
a four-  
tye to  
ent for  
melle  
carued  
in his  
in ma-  
nagh baro-  
bining the  
about  
s long  
ich the  
Scots

Curlogh Le-  
nagh baro-  
bining the  
about  
s long  
ich the  
Scots

Scots had put in for their loltatie. Odoneille quiet-  
lie possessed the countrie of Wicconell, and conti-  
nued a dutifull subiect to hir maiestie; fauing the old  
grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather in-  
crease than decate. Whan lord of the land betwene  
Koghfole and the Ban, being for the same some-  
time molested by Turlogh Kenogh, did beare with  
all inturtes, and desired to be exempted from Tur-  
logh, and to hold the same of the quenes maiestie.  
The like did the two principall men, eligible for the  
captaine of Wicon, desire for their parts all the  
residue of Ulster in good staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this tournee returned to  
Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the coun-  
cell he had disposed all things in good order concer-  
ning the gouernement: he caused the writs for sum-  
mons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto eue-  
rie noble man for his apperance; & to euerie shiriffe  
for choosing of knights and burgesses for their like  
apperance at Dublin the seuenteenth of Januarie,  
in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne; at  
which time and date apperance was then and there  
made accordingle. On the first date of which par-  
lement, the lord deputie, representing hir maie-  
sties person, was conducted and attended in most  
honorable manner vnto Chykses church, and from  
thence vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder  
the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the prince-  
lie robes of crimson veluet doubled or lined with  
ermine. And then & there the lord chancelor made a  
verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of  
what great effect and value, how the common socie-  
tie of men was thereby maintained, and each man in  
his degre conserued; as well the inferior as the su-  
perior, the subiect as the prince: and how careful all  
good common-wealths in the elder ages haue bene  
in this respect: who considering the time, state,  
and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time  
to time ordeine and establissh most holsonne lawes,  
either of their deuises, or drawen from some other  
good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue  
prospered and continued.

And likewise, how the quenes most excellent  
maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer hir chil-  
dren, and as a most vigilant prince ouer hir sub-  
iects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie  
carefull, fradious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing  
caused this present parlement to be assembled, that  
by the counsell and aduise of you hir nobilitie, & you  
hir knights and burgesses, such good lawes, orders,  
and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the  
honor of almighty God, the preservation of hir  
maiestie, and of hir imperfall crowne of this realme,  
and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole  
realme: for which they were not onelie to be most  
thankfull; but also most careful to do their duties  
in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker direc-  
ting his speeches to the knights and burgesses, who  
were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of  
the realme, willed them that for the avoiding of  
confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this ac-  
tion: they should assemble them selues at and in the  
house appointed for that assemble; and there to  
make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be  
their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an  
exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended,  
and the court adourned vntill thursdaie next, the  
twentieth of Januarie. In the meane time, the  
knights and burgesses met in the lower house, and  
appointed for their speaker one Stanishurst, recorder  
of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and lear-  
ned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was pre-  
sented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the high-  
er house: & then he hauing done most humble his

Stanishurst  
chosen to be  
speaker of the  
lower house.

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first  
abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficient-  
lie adorned and furnished with such gifts of know-  
ledge and learning, as to such an office and calling  
doth appertene: wherein he was so much the more  
vntit, as the cause he had in hand was of great  
weight and importance. And therefore he wished,  
if it might so seme good to his lordship, some man of  
more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge,  
and learning might supplie the place. Heurtherlesse,  
for somuch as he might not refuse it, he was the  
more willing, because he did well hope his seruice  
being done with his best good will, and in all duti-  
fulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his com-  
fort was the more, because he had to deale in such a  
cause, as was for the establisshing of some good and  
holsonne lawes, whereof he was a professor.

And herevpon he toke an occasion, according to  
the argument that was before handled by the lord  
chancelor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse  
of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good  
successe there insueth to all such realmes, countreies,  
and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled  
& gouerned. And when he had spoken at large here-  
of, there he declared what great causes that realme  
of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks  
and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such  
a vertuous, noble, and a most goodlie prince, as was  
hir maiestie; who not onlie was careful by the sword  
to stand in their defense against all enemies, trait-  
tors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions; but  
also for their conseruation in times of peace would  
haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made  
in a parlement of themselves, as should be most ex-  
pedient for the common-wealth of the same land.  
When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then  
he concluded with an humble petition, that it might  
please hir maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties  
and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemble of  
a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being

a member of the lower house, should and might  
haue free comming and going to and from the par-  
lement: and during their abode at the same without  
molestation or impeachment of anie person or per-  
sons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie  
of them. The second, that they and euerie of them  
might haue libertie to speake their minds freely to  
anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that  
parlement. Thirddie, that if anie of the said house  
should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vnde-  
cent manner, or if anie other person should euill in-  
treat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correc-  
tion and punishment of euerie such offender should  
rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When  
he had ended his speech, and in most humble maner  
done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused  
vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular  
point in most eloquent and effectuall manner, which  
consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with  
the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because  
he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and  
verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but  
that he would perforce the same in all dutifulnesse,  
as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit  
which groweth to all nations and common-wealths  
by the vse of the lawes; besides that daillie experi-  
ence did confirme the same generally, so no one na-  
tion particularlie could better anouch it than this  
realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope  
that they would accordingle frame themselves to  
liue accordingle, and also to praise for hir maie-  
sties safetie and long life, whereby vnder hir the y  
might intoie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prof-  
peritie. And concerning the priuileges, which they  
requested

The requeste  
of the speaker  
for allowance  
of the libertie  
of the parlie-  
ment house.

The lord  
deputie an-  
swereth Stan-  
ishursts  
oration.

requested to be allowed, for so much as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietly serve his highness in that assembly, to his honor, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased his majesty so long as the were not impeached, nor his imperiall state derogated, that they should intoie the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adjourned.

A mutinie in the lower house.

Sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthy to have bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, why he and his complices would not yield their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselves, The third and chiefeest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such townes and corporations, as which some of them never knew, and none at all were resident & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and forwardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

The next daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in stead of unitie there began a division, and for concord discord was received. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Meth and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to have place in that house began to except against that assembly as not good, nor warranted by law. Their vantage was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthy to have bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, why he and his complices would not yield their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselves, The third and chiefeest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such townes and corporations, as which some of them never knew, and none at all were resident & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies together, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater boiles; until in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: unto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they having at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souveraignes as have returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest upon the shiriffes for their wrong returns. The messenger of this answer, howsoever he were liked, his message could not be received nor allowed: which being advertised unto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon his majesties attorneie generall was sent unto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, unlesse the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer nor abide the reading thereof: but rose by in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that gravitie and wisdom, which was or should be in them. Therefore, for pacifying of the same, the chiefe iustices of the quenes bench, and the chiefe iustice of the common pless: the quenes sergeant, attorneie generall, and sollicitor, the next daie following came to the lower house, and there did affirm their former resolutions, which thought it might have sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to have contented everie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the sequelle of that assembly, where everie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes majesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and their cotine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices mistaking, it did even open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

Sir Edmund Butler was both with the parliament

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poynings lord deputie, in the tenth pere of king Henrie the seventh, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie slowward & so unquiet, that it was more like a beerebaiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wise and grave men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the wyfter hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to have done; when he saw these foule misorders and overthwarting, being grieved, stood by, and praied libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an usage in Pithagoras scholes, that no scholars of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but give eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and advised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to have bene altogether silent, is inforced even of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praie their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then upon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subject: and lastlie, how the quenes majesty had most honorable and carefulle performed the one, and how un dutifullie they had considered the other: for that the neither found that obedience in that land, which still lived in rebellion against hir; neither that benevolence of the better sort, which for his great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to have yielded unto hir. It appeared manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assembly, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poynings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet his majesty, of his owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without ante of your consents, as he hath already done the like in England; saying of his courtessie it pleaseth hir to have it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that the might thereby have the better trial and assurance of your dutifullie

The repeale of Poynings act.

The acty impoising of wines.

outfi  
hath  
the r  
not  
conti  
with  
your  
and t  
your  
servi  
than  
man  
the b  
mili  
mod  
nob  
do k  
end i  
to pr  
thei  
prou  
ons.  
and  
me:  
J  
dole  
and  
saul  
the l  
unq  
in. S  
hau  
wa  
wel  
the l  
bett  
nin  
sate  
duc  
sate  
the l  
the  
cer  
did  
the  
me  
ke  
to l  
the  
loz  
an  
the  
W  
h  
sp  
the  
ne  
au  
be  
to  
re  
to  
tr  
A  
g  
o  
n  
ti  
a



outfultneffe and goodwill towards hir. But as she hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long services in times past, his continuall and daile trauels, toynes, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserved more than well at your hands: yet as the vniuersall thankfull Israelites against Moses, the vniuersall Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vniuersall Atheniens against Socrates, The mistocles, Apeltiades, and others; you haue and do most vniuersall requite and recompense this your noble gouernor: against whome and his doings you do kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and met to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house vertie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; saying the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuely as they did digest it most vniuersally, supposing themselves to be touched here in. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being well nere two of the clocke in the afternone, that the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. Howbeit such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemble conducted to the house of Sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then late and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long about the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene concerning the questions before proposed, and therefore did secretly send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandement of the speaker, order was given to the doores keepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vniuersall friends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, as soon as the court of the lower house was set, Sir Christopher Barnelwell, and the lawiers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderly manner inuenge against the said gentleman, affirming, anouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had bene spoken in anie other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Whereupon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had anie matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disorderly, being more like to a bearebaisting of lose persons than an assemble of wise and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disorderly behauiours; who not onely promised

so to do, but also prayed assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Whiche was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements used in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

**The order and vsage how to keepe a parlement in England in these daies,** collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, & Elizabeth Reg. decimo tertio and the like used in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

**By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.**

**T**he king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof doe wholly and onely depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properly be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, for so much as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediately vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefe ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, about all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people doe both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoeuer is contrary to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their childe, their aduancement & preferment in mariages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the avoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or mouing of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuening or hauing anie aid or subside for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie thereof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

The order and maner how to  
*summon the parlement.*

**T**he king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquesses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addressed to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their feuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie feuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be  
*chosen for the clergie, and of their*  
allowances.

**T**he bishop ought upon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vntlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or pporie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or pporie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie doe appere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certaine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or pporie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, communicating of heresies, appealing of schismes, and deniung of god and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leued for the same, according to an old order bled among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci-  
*tizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen,*  
and of their allowances.

**T**he shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they doe chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves and the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

10 Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freeholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Whereupon the said freeholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordingly, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

20 These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be feuerall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freeholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maiors and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainperners and sureties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses vnder the feuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the date: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but thre shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thence. Prouided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so many daies as by iourneing six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

30 In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, good regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vntlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of pollicie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

40 And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therfore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *cinis gladio*: not because they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but because they should be such as haue good experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and realme good aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of good fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The

The  
times  
the parli  
all officers  
the same ar  
The first  
and whole b  
thing can b  
The seco  
of the tem  
of barons.  
The thi  
& these be c  
The four  
name of ci  
in the parl  
ther than t  
them is to

C

As it  
time  
gine at th  
be maie  
be kept. A  
maner to  
ment sat  
had there  
his whole  
inconuer  
fusions b  
cut off th  
did happ  
ence fr  
displeas  
grasse, b  
is to wit  
conuoca  
In th  
and ten  
this hou  
The l  
gesse d  
mons, s  
The  
of the c  
leargh  
house.  
ficers, t  
lie in o;

T  
ar  
king si  
him, or  
house  
the big  
or thro  
the kin  
there i  
which  
upon  
in his  
bench  
earles  
derm  
man  
twoar  
reth t  
or ka

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees of estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempoꝛalltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do anye thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he give at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wherefoener it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniences, and therefore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which effronies did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience frelie, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great griefs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempoꝛall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breuie subiect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hang'd richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marqueses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great scale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and laie their bookes. In the middle roome beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned counsell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great wool sacks, covered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or raile, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a bold roome seruing for the lower house, and for all suitors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancellor or keeper of the great scale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honoꝛ of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waie of answer to the speakers oration, when he is preferred to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that vpon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration vpon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safely kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If anye bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If anye bill be denied, impugned, and claere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenceforth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If anye bill be vnperfect, or requirereth to be amended, he must choise a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make chosse of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recozded, & they to paie their fines, unless they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entrie & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentle man sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, unless he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

#### Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall clarke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be pass.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings severall courts of records to be inrolled, as namentlie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be impzinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not impzinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chance<sup>or</sup> to be ingrossed and scaled, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

#### Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the clarke of the parlement, & the other named the clarke of the crowne. The clarke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entrie of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiving the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vnto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill thereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

The clarke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and roome of the clarke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clarke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be intoided him.

All such acts as be not impzinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a board before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

#### Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie maner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, unless he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie daie of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortye shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

#### Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, having foure rowes of seates one aboue an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table board, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and there vpon lieth his booke, and writeth his records. Vpon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priuie counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he commeth, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsell, the Londoners, and the citizens of Worke do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other, in

in which  
sitors an  
the house  
is void  
downe i

Th

The  
the  
or the m  
the sam  
dome, e  
that offi  
to be ppe  
His o  
order; ar  
of the sa  
the  
estate re  
he must  
mendat  
dome, i  
commo  
first  
that the  
haue an  
and libe  
bene bl  
Then  
bertie of  
clare hi  
to be pzi  
Also,  
their ser  
to mid fi  
said tin  
seruant  
impziso  
And  
panie, i  
and do i  
maiesti  
gratiou  
He n  
do ente  
the sam  
house.  
He r  
uer he  
their de  
All i  
that ho  
He  
reade f  
which d  
fect and  
Of i  
when t  
house b  
Cue  
the fec  
grosse  
thed.  
If an  
ought  
to him  
being  
open ti  
If wh  
to spea  
role fir  
uertie

in which the under clerks do sit, as also such as be sutors and attendant to that house. And when soener the house is divided upon anie bill, then the roome is voided; and the one part of the house cometh dolune into this to be numbered.

### The office of the speaker of the lower house.

**T**he chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the moze part of them; he himsele being one of the same number, and a man for grauntie, wisdome, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie folowing.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, usages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented unto the king, sitting in his estate roall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and intoie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and bene vsed in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of speeche, and frelie to utter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free comming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that compagnie, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mistake himsele in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but graunt him pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clerke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when soener he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clerke.

He ought to cause and command the clerke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breuilie rectie and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clerke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiecte and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse doe rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuerthelesse, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and toll him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saieing thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath bene read, saie *Aye*: then the affirmatiue part saie *Aye*. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath bene read, saie *No*. If vpon this question the whole house, or the moze part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the moze part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiecte; but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the otter roome, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for otherwise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himsele, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie forren person do enter into that house, the assemblee thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himsele from dealing or intermedling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himsele wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tolwer, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both howes, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull service and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humble praiering his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

### Of the clerke of the lower house.

**T**here is onelie one clerke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & laith his bookes.

He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read,

pp. llii.

read,



read: he must read openly, plainlie, and sensible.  
The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, forie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

### Of the sergeant or porter of the lower house.

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house: and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there; vntlesse he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person do come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieing his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence; and of euerie burgeisse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill do passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

### Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons: euen so the archbishops and bishops doe sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and badges; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vied in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doe sit all at a table, and doe discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees: offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned: for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops doe not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doe resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doe obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doe vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make chuse of a speaker for them, whom they call the prolocutor: when they haue chosen him, they doe present him vnto the bishops: and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vntlesse they be confirmed by act of parlement: but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doe consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others: these shall suffice for this matter.

### Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement: the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iustices and their associates of the kings bench and the common pless, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attorneie, the solicitor, the master of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceived and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all retained at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancellor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are retained at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is alreadye particularlie declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in  
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and accepted the fundaies and all principall feasts, as navelie the feast of Alhalloives daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue untill eleven of the clocke. They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are reserved for committes and the convocation house. In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and upon whom resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Wherefore, when he calleth & assemblith his parlement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to be observed, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chiefe which do insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, daie, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and provide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or prolocutor of the convocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good advise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, privileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, coming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humbly to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last daie, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolved: for upon these daies he must be present, but in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propound to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordingly as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be advised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented unto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reject it.

Also the king as he doth prefix and assigne the daie and time when the parlement shall begin: so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie  
of the parlement, and of the orders  
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, cheefest, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is divided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may jointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealthe: but being divided, and one swauring from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onlie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of auaile. And yet neuertheless, if the king in due order haue summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not do or yield to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectually, as if the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or committing will not appeere, or appearing will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords deusse, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelates or barons of the parlement, and the temporal lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Again, euerie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whom he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had euer a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealthe of his realme. Wherefore the lords being lawfullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their folie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the avoiding of confusion they be

y and b/  
late and  
egrees &  
signed:  
ther of a  
n, and  
in the

it onelie  
s of the  
semble  
tempo.

clergie  
e lower  
sembled  
, are by  
or them,  
one cho-  
ps: and  
doth all  
the com-  
clergie  
order in  
done a

ole cler-  
rs of re-  
dings  
lme, but  
but yet  
keeping  
e gover-  
time the  
ders of  
e orders  
he & cor-  
for this

ought

degrees,  
lement:  
his coun-  
and these  
, name-  
s of the  
arons of  
be solici-  
s of the

ue coun-  
doubtfull

for derlie,  
upon or

the com-

isse, but

ause they

es.

are to be  
the parle-  
and such  
gs costs.  
e particu-

be now divided into two severall houses, and yet nevertheless they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a p[ar]te of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgeisse, is of as great auail as is the best lord, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *p[er]s*, as it were fathers, for *P[er]* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgeisses, ought to be well aduised that they do elect and choise such as being to be of that assembly, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithful and trustie counsellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwile they do great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his comming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person having voises in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to any matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone any matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth; but having once spoken to any bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgeisse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no buyer nor taker of any rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of any bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things by rightie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or mistreating an other in any vnseemlie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and endeavour in wise, done, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requirerh.

Also if any one do offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gasses, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to any of them by the said parlement houses, or any of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which

is most used.

Also if any one of the parlement house be seized, sued, arrested, or attached by any writ, attachment, or minister of the kings bench, Common place, Chancery, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint there, of to the parlement house: then forthwith a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising, that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale any further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yield and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of lites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to any manner of person, vnclesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one comming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entred and commeth in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If any come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwards must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie, and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when any knight, citizen or burgeisse doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparel. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came otherwile than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to choise such for knights

but  
me  
but  
for  
fall  
bei  
we  
wa  
the  
wa  
thi  
cul  
ser

mu  
hyc  
m  
sa  
on  
m  
ort  
cor  
nie  
enl  
do

ha  
ref  
bu  
po  
coi

mi  
ue

mi  
re  
bil  
wa

the  
thi  
an  
m

of  
of  
thi

bil  
thi  
to  
be  
eu

he  
th  
br  
gr  
al

(  
fi  
bi  
te  
la  
m  
m  
m  
li

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and besides their good abilities can well serve in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senators bled, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat always in the senat house and places of counsell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was allowed and hath bene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and observed.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie objection: he shall enter, and go no farther than to the bar within the doore, and there to doe his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committees have not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed unto them, and of their doings they must give report to the house againe, by whom the bill is to be considered.

Also everie bill, which is brought into the house, must be read three severall times, and upon three severall daies.

Also everie bill, which upon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to have his three readings, unless the committees have not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine words.

Also when anie bill upon anie reading is altogether by one consent rejected, or by voices after the third reading overthrowen, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parliament.

Also if anie man doe speake unto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand up, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reverence, grauntie, and fæmelie speech to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be rejected: then everie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also everie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before he doe enter into the parliament, and take his place there, ought to be swozne and to take his oath, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie governour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all forren potentates.

### The order of the beginning and ending of the parliament.

On the first daie of the summons for the parliament, the king in proper person (unless he be sick or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parliament robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parliament, unto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of par-

ment, and there to take his seat under the cloof of estate; likewise everie lord and baron (in his degree) ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancellor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemble, declaring the causes whie and therefore that parliament is called and summoned, exhorting and perswading everie man to do his best endeavour in all such matters as shall be in the said parliament proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke unto the knights, citizens, and burgeses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and everie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parliament.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) doe assemble againe in the higher house, and then come by all the commons of the lower house, and then and there doe present their speaker unto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, everie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parliament, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Askie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons doe againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancellor or speaker of the higher house. When all the bills concluded and past in both houses, that is to say, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to everie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the lord chancellor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parliament to be prorogued or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parliament, and everie man is at libertie to depart homewards.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Barne, well and his complices, having better considered of themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parliament begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parliament, and after the same, sundrie grievous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William Dearell, and diuerse others the quenes god subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to have done upon his maties subiects. Whereupon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the counties of Bilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to hear the complaints made against the Butlers.

The nobles  
men & gen-  
tlemen in  
Mounster  
sent their  
messengers  
to the pope.

The noble-  
men & gen-  
tlemen in  
Mounster  
proclaimed  
traitors.

Sir Peter  
Carew is co-  
manded to  
serve against  
the Butlers.  
Coughgr-  
man taken.

Sir Peter  
Carew in  
danger to  
have bene  
killed.

Henrie Da-  
uels sent to  
discover the  
enemie.

Sir Peter  
Carew and  
the English  
captains gi-  
ue charge  
vpon the re-  
bels & haue  
the victorie.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard,  
did not appeere before the said commissioners, but  
both he and his brethren combined themselves with  
James Fitzmorris Desmond, Mac Artie Moore,  
Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokille and o-  
thers of Mounster, who before (and unwitting the  
Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cashell and  
Cimelle together with the poynted brother of the erle  
of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine,  
for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing  
the land from the possession of hir maiestie and of  
the imperiall crowne. Which matter in the end brake  
out into an open and actuall rebellion, and the lord  
deputie by proclamation published them all to be  
traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting.  
But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his  
letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew  
knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the ac-  
tion of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who be-  
ing accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine  
Malbie, capteine Wasenet, and others, latelie sent  
vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his com-  
mandement, and first assaulted the castell of Clough-  
griman in the Duloigh belonging to sir Edmund  
Butler, and took it, and gaue the spoile vnto the sol-  
diers.

From thence they remoued to Kilkennie towne,  
where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle  
of Dymonds, espieng vpon a certeine daie sir Pe-  
ter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell  
of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peece, and leueled  
the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to  
haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the  
castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said  
earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting  
some euill thing towards, turned by the mouth of  
the peece, which therewith was discharged, and so no  
bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant  
against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for  
a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these  
capteins laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto  
them, that a great companie of the rebels were in-  
camped about thre miles out of the towne, & were  
there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir  
Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled  
all the capteins, and taking their aduise what was  
best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels  
a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman,  
who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie  
well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had  
married his wife out of that towne, and him they  
sent out to discover the matter, who about thre miles  
off had the view, and espied a great companie of a-  
bout two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the  
middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in  
battell arate. When he returned with this report,  
then sir Peter Carew appointed the howard to cap-  
teine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels  
and twelue other persons of his companie galloped  
before the rest, and finding as it was before aduert-  
ised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie  
followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew,  
and then capteine Malbie, and capteine Wasenet,  
seeing and assured that all things were clere be-  
hind them, followed so nere, that all the companie  
euen as it were at one instant gaue the like charge,  
where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the  
least, besides others. The residue of the companie  
there fled into the mountains fast by, and none or  
few escaped but the howsemen and Berns. And of hir  
maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of cap-  
teine Malbies was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this  
victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, wher  
capteine and souldier carteng two Gallowglasses  
ares in his hand; but lest the spoile to their follow-  
ers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not  
in the campe, but was at his uncles house at din-  
ner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie soie  
for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet ne-  
uertheless not long after, James Fitzmorris came  
to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being  
well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they them-  
selves well appointed, did so carefullie and narobollic  
looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the  
towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the  
countrie and other small townes did not so escape,  
for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Poluice,  
the countie of Dublin, and all the countie were  
spoiled, preied, and overrun; and among all others  
the old Fulco Quinnerford a gentleman, of long  
time seruant to thre earles of Dymond, was robbed  
in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in  
monie, plate, and household stufte, besides his coine  
and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in  
this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford,  
which thing had not lightlie bene sene before, and at  
a faire kept then at Enescoth, there the souldiers  
committed most horrible outrages, lamentable  
slaughters, filthie rapes, and deflowrings of yong  
women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne,  
& slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the  
sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hence  
they went into Osserie and into the quenes countie,  
and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villa-  
ges, murdered the people: and then they met with  
the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmorris De-  
smond, with whom they then combined, and agre-  
ed to canse Wirlough Lennough to procure in the  
Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and  
to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left  
vndone, which might anie waies tend to the subuer-  
sion of hir maiesties imperiall crowne of Ireland,  
and to discharge that land from all Englishmen  
and English gouernement, and by these means (the  
English pale and the good cities & townes excepted)  
the most part, if not the whole land, was imbued &  
infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Dymond himselfe, a man of great  
honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England:  
but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble-  
some state in that land: and whereof no little detri-  
ment rebounded to his lordship, by reason that a  
great and most part of all his lordships throughout  
that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so  
much greue him as the follies of his brethren. For  
great were his griefs, & verie much was he unquie-  
ted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his  
brethren, nature moued him, and reason perswaded  
him, that no such outragious parts could proceed  
from them, which in anie waies should either com-  
cerne hir maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his  
house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found  
and true. Therefore, when he heard of anie matter  
against them herein, he would plead their innocen-  
cies, and defend their causes, untill such time as by  
credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw  
apparent matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie.  
Which reports albeit they greued him verie  
much, yet (as I said) nothing greued him more, than  
their dissolatie and breach of dutie against hir ma-  
iestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Where-  
fore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards hir  
highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others  
by the sword, or by some other means, to reconer and  
reclaime them.

Wherevpon hir maiestie, standing assured of  
his

The earle of  
Dymond ar-  
riued at  
Wexford.

The earle re-  
pareth to the  
lord deputie.

Edmund  
Butler sub-  
mitteth him  
selfe.

Sir Edmund  
Butlers  
rescue.

1569

The lone and  
gentle of the  
earle of Dy-  
mond to his  
brethren,

The earle of  
Waterford  
standing vpon  
their libertie  
refuse to send  
any to the lord  
deputie.

The lord de-  
putie went  
into Clonmell  
& blith verie  
good speeches  
vnto them.



his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arrived at Waterford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescooth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his coming, and with all conuenient speed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and laie nere Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yeld and submit himselfe simple to his maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and craving pardon. And then was he delivered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bee forth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doe the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the firstenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not bryoke noz like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, noz against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, noz yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatned him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lostie loikes, wherfore, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doe manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in proue falling out as was auouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuerthelesse the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whom he had vnder, taken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred hereof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling vpon their knees, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the queens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, reproued them of their outrages, and counsellled them to their duties: and in the end condescended in the due consideration of his maiesties rofall estate. And therevpon they were committed to safe keeping within his maiesties castell of Dublin, at his highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hoking, who when he was incamped nere Clonmell, where it was thought he should haue bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with his maiesties prerogative, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disolualtie to his highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clonmell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the soueraigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banquet in their townehouse, where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laung before them their present estate for example, did moue and perswade them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to his maiestie, and not to be dismayd at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whose kings and princes doe rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing vsed sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched towards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approaching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselves to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached therevnto and besieged it: and whilst the assault was in preparing, it was yelded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by fourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Cosman Mac Tæge: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokille, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmorris, had spoiled and preyed the whole countie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Ballee martz, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end toke it full of vittells. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Wolfe, & so he returned to Corke, and from thence he toke iourneie to Balmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfrete Gilbert his maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horsemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine hernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Wexles, with the lord Polowe, the lord Courcie, sir Cosman Mac Tæge, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Age, and the most part of the freholders in the countie of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by fourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clanricard, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yelding to the same.

Thence he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Roscomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horsemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by fourneies trauelled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Capteine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his balliance and courage was such, and his god hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time bryoke the hearts, and appalled

Ballee martz a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken.

The seneschall escaped out of his castell.

Humfrete Gilbert made coronell of Downe.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connaught.

Capteine Gilberts god service.

The earle of Desmond arrested at Waterford.

The earle repaireth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitted himselfe to the lord deputie.

Sir Edmund Butler alledged.

1569

The earle and gentlemen of the citie of Waterford committed to his custody.

The good section of the countie of Waterford committed to his custody.

The earle of Waterford driving vpon the liberties of the citie of Waterford refused to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie sent Clonmell to the lord deputie.

James Fitzmorris being taken by the lord deputie.

Fulco Mierford being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

The lord deputie being taken by the lord deputie.

the courages of all the rebels in Spounster, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withstand and make any resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a horse boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giving of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitteth himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before usurped this name to be king of Spounster; when he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike unto him, and there falling upon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefeest freholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & brightness, directed his gouernement, that he was obied of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their followers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The good seruice of Sir Edward Fitton lord president in Connagh.

The Clancare naghs submittions.

The Clancare naghs, the ancient enemies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering upon the frontiers appointed to Sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simple to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid upon them. Turlogh Lemmogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caluer, by a leafer or rimer of the Donilloghs. Whereupon the Scots whome he retained were in a maze, and the countie standing upon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recoverie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Whereupon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Spounster in outward apperance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

Turlogh shot through with two bullets.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteously receive; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, upon Newpeares daie in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow upon him the order of knighthood; which he well deserued, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the counsell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the maner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vse of noble gouernors and captains in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two worthy personages, Sir Peter Carew, and Sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countie and birth, borne in the countie of Deuon, and of nere blood, kinned, and consanguinitie.

The description of Sir

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwall, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, of complexion chelerike; from his childhood of a berie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leauing him verie yong, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his forwardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to mainteine and keepe him to schole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Ashleie, who was attendant to the queenes maiestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him unto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behauiour, that his maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to Sir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him intertainment, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horsemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made colonell of Spounster; and had appointed unto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horsemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & upon his oath of fealtie and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectually to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine unto. For in seruice upon the enimie he was as valiant and courageous as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrow giuen nere Bilkerrinie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue

persons gaue the onset upon a thousand men, of which six hundred were armed Gallowglasse, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Spounster, which was altogether by in rebellion; and he colonell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but six hundred against sundrie thousands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancare to follow him to Limerike, and there humbly upon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most brightlie order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of euerie sort. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eie witnesses and daile experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good success thereof; and in that quiet state he left the countie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance,

which in re (as it and his n ted. high spect sed a mag was ritcl pert uiga and thou knol ante as by cons so in Chy grea whid com ligh in n tein four coui with gati com drol had coui Ant sagi and Thu imp to t

Sir Humfreie Gilbert is drowned.

Turlogh Le- ough prepa uth to invade the English pale.

The earle of Thomond re- walter.

The earle of Omond fol- loweth the earle of Thomond, and diueth him out of the land.

Lucas Dill- son made chieft baron.

go in the for cor lik m be m bil

The battle near in 1601, and the same done to gouernment of Sir Humfreie Gilbert.

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lords of the counsell, he departed. As soon as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good service to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie aboue all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a young gentlewoman, and an inheritor; and therefore he gave himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and ready wit, and therewith a tongue at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse any matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwealthe of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his licence to make a nauigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Whelie he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good forwardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their viages, and in the memorie of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

Curlogh Lenough thinking to invade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repelled, and dauen to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Desmond revolteth from his due obedience, and becometh a rebell: whome the earle of Desmond so hardlie pursued, that he droue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discoverie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie & to the lords of the counsell, one Rafe Rochelele chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from indgement of death.

This yere the queenes maiestie, considering the good service of Lucas Dillon his generall at toznie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capitaine Piers for his good service at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, suites, and requests made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Hounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sickness and vna-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now rentred and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbosheshire in South Wales, and one of great reuennues and worship, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and unruly a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his coming, but as a sort of waips they fling out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder James Fitzmoris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaythfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaythfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They do nothing but imagin mischief, & haue no delite in any good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrightheousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of rightheousnesse they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their queene and soueraigne they obeye not, and his gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboue a yere past, that capitaine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craued pardon, and swoze to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mice were at plate; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they skipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifullnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornnesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bideled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with feneritie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much unlike to Scurrie called quicke silver, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And even so dallie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For with the sword, and for beare correction, deale with them in courtlesse, and intreat them gentle, if they can take any aduantage, they will surely slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishie and savage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are from their vbian gouernment, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueraigne and prince. But concern-

Sir John Perot appointed to be lord president of Hounster.

The rebelling of Hounster against the president.

The nature of the Irishmen.

The nature of quicke silver.

ing the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is daily scene.

The govern-  
ment of Sir  
John Perot.

This service  
against the  
rebels.

James Fitz-  
moris to be  
for peace, and  
submitte  
himselfe.

The civill go-  
vernment of  
Sir John  
Perot.

The quietnes  
and safetie in  
Downe.

Sir John  
Perots as-  
sistants.

George Bour-  
cher his  
birth and  
services.

Well, this worthy knight knowing that he should have to do with a sort of nettles, whose nature is, that being handled gentlie, they will sting; but being hard crushed together, they will do no harme: even so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouvernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and governed in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did prevaille in the latter, before he had over, come the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebell, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he beseged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, untill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length enforced James Fitzmoris and his complices to come unto Killmallocke unto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and upon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disialties, and in all humble manner to crave mercie and pardon. Whome though untill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbear, yet the residue he spared not; but after their desert he executed in infinit numbers. And having thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted up the fields from these thornes, he entred into the government by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Downe he traueleth and keepeth his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their griefes; and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his catell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white stick onlie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauele without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white shepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts late continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or preieng.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their manners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no gibes nor like vices of the Irishie to be used among the men, nor the Egyptianall rolles vpon womens heads to be worne. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat grieved, yet they yielded: and giuing the same over, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his service he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouvernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bourcher esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good service, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great hono: and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chivalrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places do make mention and report. And this gentleman, having some motion of the valie and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chivalrie, and especially to the service in the warres, wherein he proued

a verie good souldior, and an expert captaine, both as an horseman, and as a footman, both land waies he serued, as the service and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparellled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passages, and in streets whatsoeuer; and neuer leaue them, untill he did performe the charge and service committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his daily service can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he prevailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whom he would encounter if he might by anie means.

Notwithstanding, as contagious and circumspet as he was, that he would not be lightly intrap- ped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlee, and vpon a truce taken, he was invited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went in to the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was released and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welles borne in West- terford, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought up in learning, and was a student in the lawes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counter- uailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was byright and iust, being not affected, nated nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement byright, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which means he did marvellous much good in that service, and happy was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouerne- ment in Downe, Sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and re- ceived his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of December one thousand five hundred feneitie and one, in the thirtieth yere of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by fourteies came to the court. He was verie honozable received, and by his highnesse well commended, there being sundrie no- blemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie then late, who (as time convenient serued) did re- count vnto him the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Downe continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares untill he was reuoked, which was to some for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that extrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happy was that prouince, and happy were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and refo: med to a most happy, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same manner. Which if it had bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would haue continu- ed: but the want of the one was in short time the de- caie of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

may app-  
ear  
care and  
things in  
counsell  
ning  
and mai-  
man, as  
with the  
ciall poli-  
stabilise  
haue a fi-  
uerie in  
receiue  
mon per-  
might a  
the brea-  
to be con-  
excessiu  
might be  
died and  
mander  
and iust-  
rent the  
officers  
man ac-  
ers the  
pertain

The points  
of Sir William  
Fitzwilliams  
good deputies  
gouernment.  
Religion.  
The common  
peace.

The saving  
of expenses.

James to be  
executed.

Downe to be  
kept in  
this dicta-  
tione.

These  
and est-  
whole ci-  
because  
reasons  
and tur-  
rityle,  
obedien-  
honest  
waies  
breake  
and rel-  
gin to  
Spac is  
lough  
he con-  
Bristol  
spolles  
likew  
and ne-  
grace  
his ne-  
on the  
Brian  
they ce-  
thole  
state;  
it with  
their  
compe-  
Spac  
watch  
tage;  
small  
foile a  
gentle  
sons.  
In  
who al-  
and hi-  
was  
ther n  
senes  
the gi-  
lough

Spac  
Baker his  
barres in  
Westpo.

Spac  
Baker his  
barres in  
Westpo.

Thomas  
Spalferon.

both as  
wales  
f he ser  
ter of a  
not as  
in boggs  
is what  
erforme  
If he  
e service  
to often  
ed their  
unter if

circum  
intrap  
use. For  
e taken,  
ing that  
went in  
in his be  
nfed, and  
was re-  
cher affe  
in Wla  
mille, he  
udent in  
ed verie  
it young,  
counter-  
ing of all  
e affectio  
e mans  
e severe,  
fer what  
rtie, nor  
ies he did  
id happie  
llor,  
gouverne  
o libertie  
l, and re-  
centh of  
ntie and  
s reigne,  
as to be  
id done,  
me to the  
nd by his  
ndzie no-  
met him  
maiestie  
) did re-  
ys of the  
ed verie

downfall  
ined for  
ich was  
as more  
checked  
euer in  
than he  
the same  
pie were  
d and de-  
nd refor-  
late, and  
if it had  
him in  
continue  
the de-  
brought  
sequence  
may

may appere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a spectall care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the councell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, fanning Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he bring a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he dreweth the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies great and excessive charges to the consuming of his treasure might be shortned, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his sundrie commandments tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightlie minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them appertained.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole councell, and well liked of euerie good subject, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons; yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irish, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plate their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Kabir of Knocking in the countie of Catherlough Caenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Maltrickham, he tyrannized ouer the whole countie, committed manie outrages, and spoiles, preyed the countie & burned sundrie towne. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie Sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being grieved with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephue, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Kabir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Kabir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage; that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the solle and overthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or about thirtie persons.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drawen of the same cup, was diuient to leape up on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge brought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two

yeares after, Brian Mac Kabir made humble suites to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, consoling in writing his fowle disorders and outrages; and yet firmly auouching that the quarrell did not begin by him; no; by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did therewith vse and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Caenagh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the counties of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Kabir Mac Arthur was a younger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdom; and none of all the sept of the Caenaghs, though they were manie and valiant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Now he being assured of them, and also being allied by marriage vnto Hwen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the birnes and of the Omroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto Sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfullie he serued, and so much he honoured Sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The Omroughs, notwithstanding the earle of Rutland was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie towne and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in a full rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irish were of diuers nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their hearts were altogether imbued in bloud and murder. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quitt the countie.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the councell inlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Oshonnors and the Moores, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fell into open rebellion, spoile the countie, deuoure the people, and make all wast and desolate. Wirlough Lenough in Ulster was readie to revolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Ulster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odonele in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But Sir John Perrot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

Brian Mac Kabir his submission.

Brian Mac Kabir what he was.

The strength of Brian in Kabir.

Brian Mac Kabir is a follower to Sir Peter Carew.

The Omroughs rebell.

The Connagh in a full rebellion.

The false dissembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The Oshonnors and the Moores rebell.

A. H. was



The distress  
of mind of  
the lord de-  
putie.

The death of  
doctor welton  
lord chancel-  
lor.

was betwene James Fitzmorris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them alunder and so tharpelle pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue apalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Welton then lord chancelor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, bright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currents of peaces, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most bright and incorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountifous and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie rememb'ring their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to perfoyme the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectualie, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them faretyll, and not long after he being feruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The earle of  
Desmond  
breaketh  
prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause miffers to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in pounser was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The reuoca-  
tion of the earle  
of Essex.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Essex, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole pounser of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was calied, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolved. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vp anie man in the gulfes of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most gratiofullie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie thereupon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

Sir William  
Fitzwilliams

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Many good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthy to be remembred, and for cuer to be chronicled. But forasmuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the impzinter cannot stafe his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was belivered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entred into the government of this cursed land, and arriued at the Shierrie the twelue of September 1575, who at his coming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And euen as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the notherne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no longer knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien venen to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make prete of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortye of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whom some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuerthelesse by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the prete was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the events and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand preuented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saying *Principijs obsta sero medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuate counsell, as could in that queste time be assembled, he tooke order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisdome, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, toke his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the fewe, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Olns and Mouts which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

Now in all that iourneie fewe came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Ower, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and the being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nature, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostages, and simple & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like sutes as his wife before his coming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuerthelesse to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, using himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifullnesse, subiection,

discharge  
the deputie

the lord de-  
putie in  
the third time.

The pestilence  
great in the  
English pale

Serlo Boie  
assaulting  
Knockfergus

The lord de-  
putie march  
a iourneie  
to Ulster.

Sir Peter  
Carrow died at  
Wolfe, & was  
buried at wa-  
terford verie  
honourable.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
birth and  
conditions,  
his descent,  
Baron of  
Carrow.

Tirlough  
Lenough  
submiteth him  
in all humblenesse

and  
retu-  
of a  
albe-  
mol-  
such  
prel-  
ind  
acti

The sonnet  
of the lord de-  
putie in  
the third time.

the lord de-  
putie in  
the third time.

The lord de-  
putie in  
the third time.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

Sir Peter  
Carrow his  
death.

His good de-  
ling with his  
tenants,

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betweene them were ended and determined after the English manner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifference he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene to fore knowne among them; and for which he was marrellouslie beloued, and his fame spred through out that land.

His housekeeping and hospitalitie.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboute or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for tie hostlemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late by on the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simple to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was intertained according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them intertainment, and vittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiement he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves happy to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie vallant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experientie: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

Readie paiement for all things.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghyreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Palbeie, and capteine Wasnet, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, took it, and gaue the prize to the souldiers. When they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about three miles from the towne, gaue them the overthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, sauing the hostlemen and kerns which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carewes seruice in Ulster.

His title to his lands in Downshire.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experientie, byrightnes, housekeeping, bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Downshire, kno- ledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending li- neallie from the marquesse of Corke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yield their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truckie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Corke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld by their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his freinds, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Barret then lord president of Downshire, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuaue them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the wylster hereof to Corke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Klogh, Cormac Mac Teger, Barrie McG, the Dmalions, the Dpiscots, the Ddallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, three thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and coze, as according to that proportion; and would also yereleie giue him in the like manner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Corke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of A. C. J. M. to his kinsman and cousine Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Corke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Kofle, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honourable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fifteenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degree appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the counsell. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

10

20

30

40

50

60

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Desmond vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourable receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratulatory made vnto him in the Latine tongue by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioy and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the intertainment of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honourable priuie counsell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sittacus one of the three brethren, which came out of Pozwate, called Casterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill of mount Bladina, named in Irish Blough blome:

The office of the gentrie to be his name.

Controuer= sic betweene the earle of Mildare and the waterfordians.

The waterfordians re= this to acknowledge their king.

The waterfordians in those times of the kings of England.

The commo= nite of the ri= uer.

Large port.

The river at Waterford.

The buriall of sir Peter Carew.

Controuer= sic betweene the waterfordians and the towne of Kofle for the riuer of Barrow.

The receiuing of the lord deputie at Waterford.

The buriall place in the be= halle of the waterfordians.

The priuile= ge of water= lord vpon the water.

The bridge of the riuer of Suire.

bl  
of  
to  
fir  
al  
  
w  
w  
m  
bc  
bi  
m  
fi  
te  
te  
G  
al  
ff  
fe  
G  
ti  
fi  
a  
u  
b

a  
n  
l  
k  
a  
a  
c  
c  
c  
c  
c  
c

l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l

l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l

l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l

l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l

l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l  
l

now, their li-  
ng li-  
thei-  
their  
some  
com-  
will  
and to  
ance;  
te of  
sub-  
his  
ered  
n ad-  
se the  
e had  
, and  
fitz-  
to fir-  
, that  
com-  
quies-  
ding  
& the  
loy-  
there  
Bar-  
lles,  
tered  
ad to-  
come  
nd so  
ng to  
him  
to his  
t had  
ig to  
done  
et the  
Peter  
pared  
fle to  
plea-  
ding  
n and  
verie  
rford,  
urch,  
ce ap-  
Sidi-  
mach  
elo.  
a kil-  
lie of  
red at  
hyen,  
in in-  
te at  
Great  
upon  
of iote  
he re-  
thing  
of his  
ipild  
load-  
rable  
ie an-  
inion  
came  
thand  
eth in  
lough  
ome;

blome : and stretch by Thurles in Tipperarie, where of the earles of Desmond are vicounts : from thence to the holly crosse, Aromale, Cahir Dowleske, Ardman, Inslouagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (upon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seventh and inclosed with a strong wall : when Lambert (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Ulstare, for the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done : who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie by force and hang the maior. Whereupon hot words grew on euery side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight : the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seventh and king Henrie the eight, by whome their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hills and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie : but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie haueu and a receptacle for all sorts of ships : & for this it is called *Larga porta*. The great or large haueu. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefeest *Emporium* of that prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Windowan where Hoke tower standeth upon the east side, and Rodibanke upon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke vpon Suire : and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that wale : & from the said mouth vnto the Inoslage upon the riuer of Dore, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Agolins upon the riuer of Barrow, and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Kosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that wale, because they of Kosse doe claime a priuilege vpon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigot earle marshall : who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right was lord of Kosse and of the riuer of the Barrow.

Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second : and then at Clomnell upon the othes of six knights and eightene esquires, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or haueu of Waterford; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges : That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandize : Also that they haue the priuilege of the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The priuile-  
ges of water-  
ford upon the  
beare.

The descrip-  
tion of the ci-  
tie of water-  
ford.  
The liues-  
tion.

The descrip-  
tion of the ci-  
tie of water-  
ford.

The citie it selfe was first incorpored by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maior hath the sword borne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all manner of ples as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & male sit vpon trial of treasons, murders, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maior & officers of the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning them- selues, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Wickenie, Wexford, and Tipperarie. Also they haue liber- tie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a wale coine, bittels, wooll, hories, & hawks; and to li- cence anie other within the limits of their iurisdic- tion to do the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, felons goods, and deobands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sence, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their boun- teous liberalitie, and in consideration of their du- tiful and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon them. All which, O you the inhabitants of Spania, pia and citizens of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties : that you maie thereby shew your selues to be as were your predecesors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient : and that your apophthegme maie be for- uer sound true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. O Waterfordia semper manet intacta. therwise brag neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your valour (as the Jewes did of their father Abrahams) yet it shall so little a- uaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you do not also the like; and in the end your bitter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith : If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; other- wise that light which is in you shall be darkenesse. If you be the children of Abrahams, then do you the workes of Abrahams : otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abrahams, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar peo- ple, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did af- ter sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enemies hands : who put their yong men to the sword, & their priestes to slaughter, their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled, their citie bitterlie destroyed, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, caried awaie captiues, & made bagabonds, euen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, do not you of Wa- terford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke that

The incorpo-  
ration of the  
citie.  
The priuile-  
ges of the ci-  
tie of water-  
ford.  
The sword of  
iustice.

An admoniti-  
on to the ci-  
zens of Wa-  
terford.

Waterfordia  
semper manet  
intacta.

An exhortati-  
on to the citi-  
zens of Wa-  
terford.

The princes  
prerogative.

The earle of  
Desmond  
humble offer-  
eth his ser-  
vice to the  
lord deputie.  
The lord de-  
putie receiued  
honorable tin-  
to Cork.

All the noble-  
men in Moun-  
ster repaire to  
the lord deputie  
etc.

Executions  
at Cork.

Euerie noble  
man and gen-  
tleman to an-  
swer for his  
men.

The lord de-  
putie hono-  
rable receiued  
at Limerike.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements: Wherefore; if you will elchew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and hum- ble your selues in all dutifulnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Cramine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your pri- uileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods olone ordinances, when he first created and establi- shed a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute au- thoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obeyed: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his ma- iesties imperfall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is in- pertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors god doings are set downe to their praises and commen- dations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your re- proch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thanks to the mayo and his brethren for his god interteinement, he departed thence by iournies towards Cork, and by the waie at Dungarvon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humble offered him all the seruice he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence vnto the citie of Cork, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of god will and dutifulnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldier. To this towne reioyced vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, mur- ders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that pro- vince; whereupon daillie sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie nota- ble and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarmes and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onlie by spoile and rapine; that euerie noble- man and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnbooked and not registred, that he should be vsed as a felon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in god and quiet order, he took his iour- nie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in any place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and took the like order for registring of euerie noble and gen- tlemans follower, as he had done at Cork. Which

when he had done, he rode thence vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed thoroughlie to do iustice and iudge- ment therein; he referred the same to certeine com- missioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, untill further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolated, sundrie of the god houlders hauing sought new habitati- ons vnder spack William Cugther, and the countie thorough out altogether spoiled and deuoured by the spack an Castles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopelesse) sonnes of the earle of Clancar, whose outrages were most heinous and horri- ble. But when these gracesles impes perceived of the great complaints made against them, and doubting that would be the sequele if some waie were not ta- ken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publike seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable cra- ued pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties counsell thinke it god, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he took his iourne towards Du- blin, where he came the thirtieth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places con- uenient.

In this his iourne he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill government were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the pa- rish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more ouertrowne church there could not be among christians. The de- putie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in those some wrath and indignation for this de- filing of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie praised his princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humble requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the government, wight likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a red- dresse was taken forthwith, and the matters con- cerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to arch- bishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the government one William Gerard esquier a professor of the lawes was sent to be lord chancelor, & sir William Dwyer to be president of Mounster, which arrived at Dublin,

1576

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle  
consented to  
the sonnes  
will.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle  
consented to  
the sonnes  
will.

1576

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.

The earle of  
Clancar  
sonnes  
out into re-  
bellion.



Dublin, the one the sixteenth of June, and the other the thirte and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his countie. And then his lordship preparerth to take a tourne towards Waterford, to doe the like with sir William Duriel. But when he was passed a daies tourne, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Deth, who laie then upon the confines of Deth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maiors of Gallewaite, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his forces that baserlie hoo, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most humbly protested and sware most dutifull and conuincall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the river of Shennon, and there cast auaite their English apparel, and clothed themselves in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come auaite to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglaffes, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenry, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat auaite the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. And when they were before, but not ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth into the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seuen wicked spirits, and entreth and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these baserlie boies, and of their fier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie resolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so countenoule used, so gentle interteined, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie persuaded, so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surely nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For baserlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good tree onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be slow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peate vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peate; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenched from thornes, bangles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrate inioie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and indgement is executed; when the good are preserved and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallowses) according to their desert are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discorde of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subject is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors doe neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallowses, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, binding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended iourne, and returneth to Dublin, using such expedition, that within three daies following he was entered into Connagh. The bzute thereof when it was blowne abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certaine gentlemen of the earls countie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and crauing of pardons, he was sent to the castle of Dublin, and there kept in close prison.

The lord deputie he passed thence to Gallewaite, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townefolkes, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprized and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limericke, where he settled sir William Duriel (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Cork, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so brightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subjects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enemie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, until he had either taken him, or diuened him out of the countie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Berie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the

The lord Deputie altereth his countie, and entreth into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castle of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Duriel placed to be lord president in Mounster.

The gouernment of sir William Duriel.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

id, The countie of  
at cleane cut of  
of order.

nt  
se  
n  
be  
nd  
s,

ne The towne of  
he Gallowglaffes  
the great creat.

te  
te  
he  
ep  
cl  
ri  
be  
ng  
lar

The earle of  
re, Clanricard  
he countie sub-  
re mit them:  
selues.

as  
nd  
ce  
ed  
hic  
pe  
ne  
un

6,  
gh  
m

us  
ed  
in

be The ruine of  
the ecclesiastical  
estate.

pa  
nd  
ist  
e if

Wanie in  
reland not  
chastened.

the  
ble

The spoile of  
the church.

se,  
ob  
de

ing  
hic  
elle

off  
ing  
ite

isse  
and  
and  
re

on  
h, it  
rch

the William  
ent  
chancellor.

was  
du  
Duriel to be  
at lord president.

1576

1576

1576

1576

1576

1576

1576

1576

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposeth to doe iustice in Kerrie.

most loose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shroud for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fullie determined to make a iourneie into that privileged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, even as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed thepe, nor good for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compasse, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could doe to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seuen score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint; and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clothes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretly; had appointed in a readinesse seuen hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intraped his lordship; and instead of a bein venue into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonour hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with vertie good and pithie words, incourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwarde, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were affronted at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land; both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselues into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorrow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held vp his hands, and with trilling teares praised his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could his husbands follie, saieing that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie staie: and so praised his lordship to take it. And herein she so wisely and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporized with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This grieved the earle to the hart, who hauing no o-

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuileth certaine articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corkie, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Spac an Charles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actuall rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were vp in campe and in outrageous maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Ballie Kingh, which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capitaine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to recouer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not pzenaile; but the garrison with in did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and one at sundrie times of their principall captaine, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not pzenaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Spac William Cughter, from whome they toke sundrie of his castels, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slackening nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who slipped to and fro in such sort, that in no wise could he find them at anie aduantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursue to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not mete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet many times he met with some of them, slew them, hanged and executed them, toke their preies from them, and gained abate their holds and castels. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Spac William Cughters countrie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie many of them fell into his lap, who had their rewarde. Vnto whose lordship reioyced the said Spac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of powler in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recouered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castels, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselues, and the most of them, being werie of their abode and interestment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the gasses of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iournies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued his maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Spallie his seruant, whome he commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes; and as well for the incouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; his pleasure was to commit vnto him the cheefe charge and gouernement

The earle com- plaineth against the lord president.

The Spac an Charles in Connagh in rebellion.

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

The death of the earle of Essex.

Dysmeria.

The sundrie opinions of his death, conforming witchcraft.

Sorrow and griefe of mind.

Prophecies against the countie of the countie.

The lord president cometh with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots forleis Connagh and returne home.

The lord president is appointed gouernor of Connagh.

uerne willer office, haue as we fice, & glad him & naug afflicte in iud his pe suffici force string franu uince aduer thank Duri lord d of gra Grea king then i strit sicke exam there that f of a times ment it wa his di with lie p anti chris of the not b by th of the ned t ther wher and relea samu ther wher med H tage of hi gift: mar and lie & life: sam tout note fite enli to bi faiti ders he f we: po: 3 of a

uerneement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and willed that he should be forthwith established in that office, & to be sworne one of his privie counsell, & to haue that countenance, authoritie, & intereinement as was met, convenient & agreeable for the place, of fice, & person. Which the said deputie most willingly & glablie performed, dubbed him knight, and made him gouernor by the name of a coronell of Connagh: thinking him selfe most happie, that he was assisted with such a man, as who for his experience in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was sufficient and compleat; and best able, partly by force, partly by perswasion, and chieflie by ministering of iustice, was (as saie) best able, and would frame the rude and barbarous people of that prouince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he auerified vnto his maiestie by his letters, with thanks for his choise of so meete and apt a man. During the time of this seruice and being of the lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Essex, a man of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin. Great doubts were made of his death: some thinking that he should be poisoned, & some that he was then in the best time of his age, of a verie good constitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bene sicke anie time before his death. But the matter examined by all the meanes that could be deuised, there was no such thing then found: but supposed, that for so much as he had a flur, which was a spile of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had bene oftentimes before troubled, by the inspection and iudgement of such physicians & others who were present: it was iudged and found that it was some cause of his death. Some thought rather that he should be bewitched, as that countrie is much giuen to such daikie practises. But how far is that from all christi-anitie, all wise and goodlie do know, and euerie good christian should vnderstand. It is against the word of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe of the mind and secret sorrow of the hart had halfe-ued that, which no infirmite of the bodie nor anie other deuilles extraordinarie could compasse. For where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized and taken possession, and which by no physike can be releued or cured: it is but in vaine to minister the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the other faileth, no more than can an accident remaine, when the substance is gone; or else as the timbers of a shes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consumed.

He was no more honozable of birth and parentage by his ancessors, of whome some descended out of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not manie better. Towards God he was most deuout and religious, whome he serued according to his holie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole life according to his vocation he framed after the same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, couetousnesse, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other notorious crime: a great fauourer of the goodlie, a friend to the professors of the gospel, & an extreame enemy to the papists & enemies of the true religion: to his prince & soueraigne most dutifull and humble, faithfull & obedient: his superiours he honozed, his elders he reuerenced, his equals he loued, his inferiours he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the commonwealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the poore and oppressed bounteous and liberrall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach: in causes of counsell sound, and of a

deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to anie the first conquerors of Allster to the crowne of England. For such a plot he had laid for the regaining therof, that it could not be denied, but if the same had bene followed, great good would haue ensued in processe of time to his maiestie, in obedience and reuenues, and a great suertie to that estate, and the like increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The more noble were his good and worthie attempts, the more he was crossed and contraried: but by such secret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part coniecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was the great balour of his mind, and the magnanimitie of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts, for the honoz of his prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted, he thome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hardnesse could bzeake; the verie griefe of mind and sorrow of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of great reading, and sometimes a scholar in the vniuersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a verie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacite to vnderstand, and of a readie tong to vtter and deliuer in a verie good order what he had conceiued; and so well he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few scholars better, and not manie so skilfull in anie one, as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it had pleased God that Lachess had bene idle, or had spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to haue bene imployed according to his excellent vertues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or martiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthie and beneficall member vnto his maiestie, and his whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was his death most goodlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the one answerable to the other, even as *S. Augustine* writeth; *Vix male moritur qui bene vixit*. In all the time of his sicknesse, which was about twentie or ones and twentie daies, although he were manie times tormented with greuous pangs in the bellie: yet was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie and meekelie toke all things in god part. After he perceived that nature began to faile and defect, he yielded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that his friends and wellwillers should haue access vnto him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants, before whom he did shew most apparant arguments of a goodlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past, and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all the world, freely forgiving euerie offense done vnto him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he openly confessed, and witnessed a most vnboubred assurance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased for him in his blood and death: and manie times he would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum Christo*. He spent most part of the time, when the extremitie of his sicknesse did not let him, in praiers, and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would vse such goodlie admonitions, such pithie perswasions, & so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought he could doe in all his life time: for he neuer seemed in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and eloquent. The nearer that death drew, the more seruent

A plot for the regaining of Allster.

The earle of Essex contraried in all his attempts.

The earle be- rie well lea- ned.

A goodlie life hath a goodlie end.

His patience in his sicknes

His repen- tance and cha- rite.

He confesseth his faith.

His praier and hearing the word.

ti. The earle com- er: plainly a- gainst the lord deputie.

an. The Earle was on a while in Connagh ris- ing in rebellion.

But. The earle's sons who be- liege Dublin.

ure and fite in- the d it hey sth- due and ind, fied ing pon oke ods otw- said. The lord de- putie follows- eth the rebell.

foze i in- be ugh em, yet em, from And d br- fims- rie: The Scotts incamped in the ds, Connagh.

who d the ould. The will- in of felle the force he most could make vpon utie, is ca- from

ng of mpe. The Scotts for- labe a one- test- nagh and re- like turne home,

but red, when sper- blin,

a let- The Scot- nant, so ap- poynted go- uernor of Co- nagh.

th for- he in- of the asure id go- ment

The death of

the earle

of Essex.

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

of

the

he was in prayer, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tongue gaue ouer to speake anie more, he lifted vp his hands & eyes to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, milddie, and godlie he did yeld by his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth date of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his friends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his everlasting ioye, and eternall felicitie.

See more of this earle of Desmond in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

This letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

About three daies before his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good friendshipp past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his friends, yet his sonne the earle of Desmond might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his burfall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorizall of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie ioye and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenat nation.

The disagreements betwene the earls of Desmond and Thomond.

The ppointing of Spounser was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *Volens nolens* he were pressed therevnto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie willfull man, notwithstanding he had at Cork yelded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie celsse; and wrote his letters to the lords of his maiesties priue counsell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggravating the taking of the celsse, with most manifest vntuths. And so far he was carried in misliking the government, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie saine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forlozne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue joined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Spounser, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which carried the more likelihood, because his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue married himselfe in marriage with Shanes siller, who was Shanes wife, & of late forsaken by him. Preuer the lesse, the earle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espye out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such readiness to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the celsse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir J. Desmond putteth away his wife and marryeth another mans wife.

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notozious malefactors and pzadisers of vniquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whom least suspicion of anie euill was thought: they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the celsse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue mainteined it; because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowledge, and experience, when he considered the fickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irishie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to his maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and oathe, would sling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preservation of his good subjects, his highnesse was obliged to enlarge his garrisons, and to increase his armie to his exorbitant charges, and all which companies were vittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributozie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the more grieued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in his highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofore bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoever: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne more vniuersallie, and so more indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of his highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are grieued, and therefore doe repine against celsse; and with open mouths crye out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie celsse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what celsse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the queens price, to all and euerie such souldiours as the is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be verelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselves grieued, because they should also now beare a portion, and

The gentlemen in the pale began to repine against the celsse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

The records searched by the lord deputie.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

What celsse is.

The prerogative of a prince by the law of God.

disputie & murrell to be charged of the celsse.

be contrary, and and counsell, and offer them, by ease the upon at persons said manie they haue liberties were celsse and pleason, that them. With at full, and rec lord de of the nswer. A sower in chancel all to such as the gre had all because & twel that th but sin euer it was a maiest but all euer the spe still fr like chie for an by the statlie fallen gainf migh patre nesse he wi to go ther i dedli strri to fol nie i latw pet sonu don, then the l of it (as the l ther and exc the cha all br ear

and  
high  
dois

ight)  
than  
En.

was  
pine  
due  
at to  
be  
se of  
roof.  
eing  
ence,  
ring  
with  
ome,  
rma:  
anie  
secret  
then  
of bir  
ge bir  
essue  
telled  
g that  
lie ex  
ld be  
parta  
nding  
be ex  
by the  
ur the  
f their  
h to be  
n fre  
and all  
ze bin  
r: and  
erties  
repa:

be gentle-  
men in the  
pale began  
to repine a-  
gainst the  
ceffe.  
The kinges  
prerogative  
by the lawes  
of the realme.

Liberties  
claimed to be  
discharged of  
the cefle.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

The record  
searched for  
liberties.

be contentmentaries: first they drato their heads tog-  
ther, and make there supplication to the lord deputie  
and counsell, which was receiued verie willingly,  
and offer made that conference should be had with  
them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to  
ease there griefes, & not to charge the quene. Where-  
upon at a time appointed they all met, and came in  
persons before the deputie and counsell, where the  
said malecontents first opened their griefes, that  
they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and li-  
berties which were taken from them; then that they  
were compelled to yeld to an unreasonable cefle,  
which they were not able to beare, and that was will  
and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and rea-  
son, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon  
them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them  
at fall, they appointed a daie, when they should come  
and receiue their answer. In the meane time the  
lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered  
of the matter, and resolued themselves vpon an an-  
swer. And when the daie came and they appeared, an-  
swer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord  
chancelor, that they had no charters nor liberties at  
all to be found in hir highnesse records, other than  
such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for  
the greatnesse of the cefle, the burden wherof they  
had alleged to be unreasonable and not to be borne,  
because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds  
& twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered  
that they should be discharged, if they would paie  
but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatso-  
euer they said in deniall of the paing of the cefle, it  
was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie hir  
maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached;  
but also to be proued by most ancient records, that  
euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for  
the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin  
still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the  
like charges imposed by the name of cefle by the de-  
putie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent  
for and did come to the same, now in question and  
by them repined at. Wherefore the cefle, they repined and  
flatlie denied that they would yeld to anie cefle,  
saing and alledging as before, that it was a-  
gainst reason and law, and therefore prayed that they  
might haue his lordships libertie to make their re-  
paire ouer into England, and to acquaint hir high-  
nesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that  
he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them  
to go. Whereupon they assembled themselves tog-  
ther againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie hea-  
ded lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had  
fired and set them a worke to conuince themselves  
to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of mo-  
nie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said  
lawyers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard  
Peterruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene  
sometimes students in the ins of the court in Lon-  
don, & acquainted with littletons tenures, thought  
themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in  
the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters  
of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first  
(as it becommeth dutifull subjects) to haue looked in  
the booke of God, they should haue found it written  
there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings  
and established their thrones, and gaue them most  
excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they  
should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon  
the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative,  
that all inferiours and subjects should and ought in  
all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselves  
vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: be-  
cause so is it the will of God, without sitting of his

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there  
is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they  
are ordeined of God; wherfore who so resisteth them,  
resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences  
the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the  
disobedient. Wherfore euerie man is to be subject in  
all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of  
ordinaunces, being not against God, nor onlie because  
of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in  
matters being well considered, & which do concerne  
their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible  
truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus  
would dispute the princes prerogative with their  
littletons tenures; and measure the same with their  
owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for  
them, & moze to their commendations, if they had (as  
the scholars of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held  
their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better  
studied in their owne lawes: and then they should  
haue found it written that the prince or king is the  
head and most excellent part of the bodie of the com-  
monwealth; and through his gouernance the preser-  
uer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the pro-  
phet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the  
people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which  
causes the lawes do attribute vnto him all honor,  
dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all o-  
thers; and which his prerogative doth not onelie ex-  
tend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of  
his owne, but also to all his subjects. And the law-  
pers themselves do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*,  
that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established ei-  
ther for the benefit of holie church or common pro-  
fit, it is alwaies implied *salua in omnibus regis prae-  
rogativa*; and that nothing shall be intended to be prei-  
udiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likeli-  
hood these men were not so farre read; or if they had,  
their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which  
blindeth manie of that profession, had made them  
forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these  
great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gen-  
tlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and  
reasonable, and by the law to be warrantable; & not to  
be doubted but the same would haue good successe.  
Whereupon they made by their supplication and let-  
ters to hir maiestie, with the like letters to hir hono-  
rable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Ianuarie,  
1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount  
of Walsinglas, Ed. of Meluill, Christopher of Hoth,  
Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Da-  
trike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Blunket, sir Tho-  
mas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chiucers, and sir Wil-  
liam Searefield knights; Edward Blunket, Da-  
trike Paugle, Patrike Husseie, George Blunket,  
Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas  
Wasse, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in  
the names of all the inhabitants within the Eng-  
lish pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered  
in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto the  
said agents, and so much monie for their expences  
as was thought sufficient, with their order and pro-  
mise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And  
thus being furnished with all things to their con-  
tentments, they pass ouer the seas, and made their  
repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time  
conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters  
to hir maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which  
in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a cefle imposed by the  
lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for  
hir maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves  
griued therewith, made their complaint thereof  
vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse,  
and could not be heard.

D. J.

Seconda

The kinges  
prerogative  
by the lawes  
of the realme.

The imposed  
gentlemen  
send into En-  
gland their a-  
gents to com-  
plaine.

The effect of  
the letters &  
complaints  
exhibited to  
hir maiestie  
and counsell.

The por-  
tion of a  
man by the  
law of God.

The male-  
contents made  
their suppli-  
cation to the



Secondarie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

Fourthlie, that in the leuieing and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter  
is referred to  
the counsell.

When hir maiestie had thoughtlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priue counsell to be considered, and the same to be thoughtlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call befoze them the earles of Kildare and Dunmoyne, the viscount of Ossington, and the baron of Dunsany, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the manner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioined, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserved.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be soze, and to mislike of their vnadvised proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugn the same: although they wished and did praye, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the doings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers  
of the counsell  
to the articles  
of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vntlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoughtlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vncontented to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the abuse of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the flēt, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieved with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the releasing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in prejudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadye giuen order for committing them to the flēt, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insuffieng and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and allow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auowing to be likewise committed.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the manner of the leuieing the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all severitie. And herewith also the was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yelded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simple, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbeare (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in mainenance against the said prerogative, to be displayed and discharged out of hir ser, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedom from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sicking, that no cesse

The malcontents  
are all  
committed to  
flēt.

The agents  
of the complainers  
sent to the flēt.

The malcontents  
are all  
committed to  
flēt.

The lord  
deputie  
sent to the  
flēt.

The agents  
of the complainers  
sent to the  
flēt.

The complainers  
subscribed in  
be sent and  
committed to  
flēt.

The agents  
were released  
vpon the  
order to ap-  
peare before  
the lord deputie  
and counsell.

The complainers  
were released  
vpon the  
order to ap-  
peare before  
the lord deputie  
and counsell.

The lord  
deputie  
sent to the  
flēt.

The malcontents  
were released  
vpon the  
order to ap-  
peare before  
the lord deputie  
and counsell.

The malcontents  
were released  
vpon the  
order to ap-  
peare before  
the lord deputie  
and counsell.

The lord  
deputie  
sent to the  
flēt.

cesse could  
counsell; it  
was against  
bent thereto  
ference: it  
castell of  
(after they  
a submissio  
cell had for  
counsell in  
rogant an  
contents,  
like confer  
position, b  
ward, arro  
removed  
appointed f  
such (being  
posed to o  
these thin  
and gentli  
lie greuel  
ouer, vnti  
by aparai  
ced, and c  
berie pur  
fullie, effe  
tessie and  
agents co  
flēt i  
selues, ar  
vnder the  
priue coi  
and inso  
ded most  
tent wu  
bse the sa  
redresse c  
paied th  
and pain  
might b  
Whereb  
one th  
should d  
their tra  
their im  
to the le  
their att  
ced to be  
med the  
humblie  
lord de  
order ti  
Englan  
tie and  
trauerl  
downe  
made a  
tents, i  
had inf  
subiect  
all the  
treasu  
his go  
with f  
by his  
trarie  
that l  
ning  
sped  
mani  
was

celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand council, and whatsoeuer was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubbornlie they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better abused themselves) yelved a submission and praied mercie.

Which doings when the lord deputie and council had forthwith aduertised to hir highnesse & the council in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloiall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the Fleet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capitall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogatiue) as be supposed to offend in the next degree to the highest. These things when they were notified vnto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouslie grieved; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuinc'd, and condemned: for which the lord chancelor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectualle, and discretlie did resolute hir maiestie and council in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priuie council, confessing that they had disloialle and insolentlie, both in words and writings offended most grieuousslie; protesting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogatiue, to be the same as occasion should serue, but onlie to redresse certaine abuses; and therefore most humbly praied they might find some mercie, and that their hard and painfull imprisonment which they had sustained, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staid or lingering, to the lord deputie and council, and there to giue their attendance, untill by them they should be licensed to depart. At their coming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humbly in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and council, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the council in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and council in Ireland) the same was after long trauctise ended and determined. But here to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subjects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reline, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subjects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrary to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spread. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his preuaile was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward graces, which for a time by the means of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great soy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the cels, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtfull state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardlie kicked at the like, and all the lords in Hounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to paie anie cels; when James Fitzmois being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daillie looked for to come and inuade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow hearts, and addicted to papistrice, did daillie gape and expect for the same; when the disloiall Irishie in Hounster and Connaugh were combined and ioined in these conspiracies; when Kozie Dg, Dmore, Conno, Mac Coymake, Dconno, & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and used most execrable outrages; when some of the best townes in Leinster did sit, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring herewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better heringer? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect, for the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arrivall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than mearning anie breach of dutie, had ouer shot the miseres: which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would neuer thenceforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the trauctise about the cels, manie things happened in the land woorthie to be reprehended (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of James Fitzmois to inuade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified vnto the chiefe of all Hounster his secret confederats, and they being papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did daillie languish and expect his coming. Wherefore hir maiestie and council, hauing the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Kozie Dg, Dmore, and Conno, Mac Coymake, Dconno, and their coparteners, contrary to their other submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began aneto gather their friends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the number of a hundred swordes, which with his owne made aboue seauen score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens

Dy. haggards,

The libertie of the English pale to the crowne.

hir maiestie offended with be comainers.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and council for suffering the complainers unpunished.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentlie bled.

The lawyers of hir maiesties for maintaining the complainers, to be displeased.

The malcontents & their adherents sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

Complainers are all committed to prison.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

The agents of the comainers sent to the Fleet.

The burning  
of the houses  
by Kozie Dg.

haggards, poxe mens houses, and sundrie villages,  
and committed manie outrages: and being not re-  
sisted, he took such encouragement of his successe,  
that leaving poxe villages, he went to great towne,  
as to the Jaas, distant from Dublin about ten  
miles. The verie same date that he came thither at  
night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, com-  
monlie called the church holie daie, which daie after  
the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the  
festiuall daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were  
wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and  
Menus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkenness, and  
surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches,  
and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the  
night went to their beds, hauing forgotten to make  
fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward  
them. Which thing Kozie Dg when he knew, and ha-  
uing intelligence that euerie man was in his bed a-  
sleepe, then he in the dead night came to the towne  
with all his companie, who like vnto a fox of furies  
and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the  
ends of their poles flannes of fier, and did set as they  
went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind  
being then somewhat great and vehement, one  
house took fier of another, and so in a trise and mo-  
ment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the  
towne supposed to be five hundred persons in out-  
ward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but  
they being in their dead sleeps, suddenlie awaked,  
were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the  
fier was round about them and past quenching, and  
to pursue the enimie they were altogether vn furni-  
shed, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they  
could tell which way to follow him. For he taried ve-  
rie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little  
while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld  
how the fire round about him was in euerie house  
kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and tri-  
umph, that he had done and exploited so diuelishly an  
act. And then after a short space he arose and depar-  
ted with great triumph according to his accustomed  
vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his  
vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he  
returned he pried and spoiled the countrie, and ran-  
ging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him,  
he came verie shortly vnto the towne at Leighlin  
bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Kozie Dg  
burneth the  
towne at  
Leighlin  
bridge.

George Ca-  
rew with  
twelve per-  
sons against  
240 fether  
by on them &  
drunth them  
to die.

The castell  
in danger to  
be taken.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew,  
then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing  
then but a small ward to defend the violence of the  
enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dis-  
honour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to  
let him depart vnfought withall: he issued out vpon  
him, hauing with him onlie seven horsemen and  
five shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels,  
being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage  
and ballantness (and they astoned because it was so  
sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of  
them: and then they with the losse of those men be-  
gan to flic. But at last when they perceived his force  
to be but small, and too weak to resist their great  
number, they returned and chased him to the verie  
walles of the castell, where if he and his small com-  
panie had not like ballant and good souldiers acqui-  
ted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house;  
for they were within the gate and there fought, but  
driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they  
lost sixtene men, and one of their chiefe capteines  
named Piers Spoinagh, who died verie shortly after  
of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and  
one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie  
was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this  
intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saved.  
After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie  
townes and villages vpon the confines & borders  
of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eger-  
lie followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse  
of his companie, yet he was so mainteined, and his  
watch and spiall was so good, that partlie by the  
helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes  
of the water bogs and fastness in euerie place, he  
was in safegard and safetie. In this pursuit made  
vpon him, it happened that a parlie was appointed  
betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom  
Kozie Dg swoze and promised most faithfullie to  
yeld himselfe to some conformitie and order. The  
capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much  
credit to his subtill promises, and did so open him-  
selfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Kozie  
tooke aduantage, and perforce took him and Alexan-  
der Cosbie, who was with him in hand, both which he  
handsafed together, and carried them along with him  
as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs,  
threatening them still to kill them. This thing being  
knowne, great sorrow and greefe was conceived of  
the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and da-  
lie practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at  
length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a  
manner concluded. But before the same was fullie  
perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole  
constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a  
draught vpon Kozie: for he knowing where the said  
Kozie was wont to hunt, and by good espials lear-  
ning where his cooh and cabine was, he being ac-  
companied with Parker lieutenant to capteine  
Furfe and stie of his band, earelie in the mor-  
ning, about two houres before daie, he went and  
marched to the verie place where Kozie late, and be-  
set the same. Kozie hearing an vntoward noise, and  
suspecting the worst, he came suddenlie vpon Ha-  
rington and Cosbie, thinking to haue slaine them,  
and getting in the darke to the place where they late,  
gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the  
greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left  
hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open  
the doze of the cabin, he took as manie as were  
within prisoners: but Kozie himselfe and one other  
prisonie in the darke stole awate and crept among  
the bushes, so that he could not be found. The sould-  
iers in the meane time, making spoile of all such  
goods as they found, killed all the men who were  
there, but saved capteine Harington and Cosbie.

Kozie Dg albeit he was glad that he was so escap-  
ped, yet in a great greefe for the losse of his prisoners,  
and minding to be reuenged, prisonie with all the  
companies which he could get, besides them which  
Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh,  
he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and  
burned a few haggards of cozne and a few houses,  
and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof,  
forthwith followed them with ten or twelue horses  
which he had in a readinesse, and at a foyn not far off  
he overtooke them, and killed sixtene or seue-  
tene of his best men, and Kozie himselfe escaped verie  
narrowlie; and so continued still in his former out-  
rages, untill he was intrapped and taken by a drusse  
of his owne to intrap others, which was in this  
manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of June 1578,  
he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cum-  
ninglie framed, and made apt for the purpose to go  
to sir Barnard Fitzpatricke lord of Byer Oserie,  
and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and  
in secrecie, that Kozie Dg had bene of late in the  
countie of Wickenne, and there had taken a great  
preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other household  
stuffs, which he might easilie take if he would aduen-  
ture

The countie  
is bymen to  
retire and  
take.

Kozie Dg by  
flight and de-  
script rather  
capteine Ha-  
rington was  
ner.

Kozie Dg is  
slaine.

A draught  
made vpon  
Kozie Dg by  
Harepole.

The lord de-  
putie maketh  
a course by  
Kozie Dg.

Capteine Ha-  
rington is  
hurt.

Kozie Dg  
escapeth.

Capteine Ha-  
rington is  
deliuered.

Kozie Dg  
burneth Ca-  
therlough.

1578

A barland in  
the west of  
per Oserie

ture the  
might  
nie, whi-  
few in r  
belenir  
foze cast  
to follo  
with hi  
ment, u  
laied; e  
else he l  
men in  
himself  
staid u  
ter. Wh  
woods,  
thirtie  
of the o  
great, a  
man di  
his prel  
sight a  
gaue th  
one of  
present  
no con  
e gaue  
and di  
foze sai  
bloud;

Wai  
strutic  
ders of  
said in  
the sur  
en int  
ton, a  
vnduti  
speach  
be indi  
e confi  
and to  
there k  
degre  
rie wi  
ding a  
ding t  
the ca  
had re  
for hin  
lord p  
as all  
ante i  
vnrul  
count  
trarie  
fered.

Wh  
letter  
there  
confel  
much  
would  
which

fic. 2  
were  
proun  
his co  
maiel  
come  
thing  
and bi  
of Jan  
fren

The countie of  
Down and  
the lord presi-  
dent of Down  
are recon-  
ciled.

The countie of  
Down and  
Down

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Kozie himsele and all his companie, which as he said (but vntrulie) that they were but few in number. The lord of Wyper Offerie, neither beleuing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forcausing the worst, did put himsele in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking with him a good companie of hoisemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laid; and being come nere vnto it made staie, or else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Kozie. But the baron himsele with certeine of his hoisemen and shot staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no soner entered into the woods, but Kozie the rebell shewed himsele with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceiued. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Offerie's kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their encounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no soner done, but two or thre hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deablie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of June before said; and so this bloudie carise, belitting all in blood, perished and died in his owne blood.

But before Kozie Dg was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the borders of Offalie and Lerr, to haue met with the foresaid Kozie Dg & his companions the Connors for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were grown into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndoutfull termes they breathd out slanderous speeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieved the said Kozie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he toke order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without any warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and vntrulie followers, which harried vp and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrary to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnseemlie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staied him, and haue used him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reprimond by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeye the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandments, and which things he performed. For not long after he vntered and betwaxed to the said lord president the practices of James Fitzmorris, who by the arruall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of

saint spaloues, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Spounster and Connagh, whereby a plot was laied for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the utter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth more dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means of Dwarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and maintained by him. The coioneil vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Dwarke for them, and who denied to deliuer any of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Dwarke, slue his men, toke his castell, and put all the iward to the sword. Wherevpon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himsele, and craved pardon. All the residue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties revenues to the yearelie summe of eighteene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukelcie was arruied out of Italie vnto Cadix in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in tractorous maner to inuade the same, and to pouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was diuerted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Nevertheless, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Kose and Idon, vicount of the Dorough & Kentslagh, and earle of Wexford and Catherlough, and marquisse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seventh Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these broiles, the vicount Balinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecontents against the cesse, wrote his letters to the earle of Dymond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Balinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Kozie Dg. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priue counsell. Vpon which complaint, because it seemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partly persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such greuous extortions suffered vnto that nation, than did any of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

lord president James Fitzmorris his practices.

Coiners in Connagh.

Dwarke refusing to deliuer & coining his castell taken, and he submitted himselfe.

Tho. Stukelcie here suspected to come into Ireland.

Great preparation made against Stukelcie.

The pope his fauour to Stukelcie.

Stukelcie his honour and titles.

The vicount Balinglasse complaineth to the earle of Dymond against sir Nicholas Bagnoll.

The earle of Dymond aduertiseth the complaint of the vicount to hir maiestie and counsell. Hir maiestie sendeth letters in the behalfe of the vicount Balinglasse.

The vicount  
Waltinglasse  
complaineth  
to the lord de-  
putie against  
sir Nicholas  
Bagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained vnto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Wagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And vpon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Wilton and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proued to anie purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first comming to that towne, had giuen great charge to euerie captaine, to forseeke that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, noz anie thing to be taken by anie souldier or other person without present painement, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, vpon such as should do the contrarie.

likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were anie which had anie cause of complaint for anie wrong or iniurie done, or that anie thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it dooth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggrauate his greafe conceiued against the imposition of the celsse, than for anie good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices penalised little in the one, no moze had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified into the lords of the counsell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reproued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such vntrue and inbred dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not bwoke noz like of the celsse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggrauate his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of hir maiestie, and be out of fauour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproue and discredit.

The whole  
land in peace

1578  
The sword  
deliuered to  
sir William  
Dzurie as  
lord iustice.

The departure of Sir  
Henric Sid-  
neie, and of his  
last sayings.

The notable  
works of  
Wholes, & yet  
he not ac-  
cepted.

tion, a stiffnecked and an ingratefull people: euen  
no lesse as this noble man, and most true this gover-  
nour hath found of the people of this most cursed  
nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie pain-  
full traveller both by daye and night, in fowle and in  
faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in  
troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie,  
in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet  
continuallie studying, bruiſing, travelling, toiling,  
and labouring to doe them good (as he did full many  
and often times) which so long as they felt the ease &  
comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but  
otherwise most ingratefull and unthankfull. And  
offering vnto him the like reward as Alcurgus re-  
ceiued of the most unthankfull Lacedemonians, who  
when he had recovered that savage nation to a ciuill  
life, and a politike gouernement, and in the end re-  
duced them to that order and maner, as they became to  
be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense  
euilt intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake  
out one of Alcurgus his eyes. But these men so  
thousands and infinit commodities, would not one-  
lie haue bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also  
done him a further inconuenience (if successe had  
happened) according to their malice.

And now here by the waite, let it not be offensive to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He was bozne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneye, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great fauour with king Henrie the eighth, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court travelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom he was verie nere allied. This yong gentleman, his father being deceased, and he of verie tender and yong péeres, was brought vp in the court vnder the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongues, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was concluded some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behauiour verie gentle and courtreous, in whome king Henrie the eighth (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaiesfellow with prince Edward.

60 This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he vsed him not onelie as a companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would neuer be asunder, neither in health, nor in sicknesse, vntill the dieng daie of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemen's armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gaue the order of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and loue: vpon which daie also he did the like vnto sir William Cecil, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by means of which their conioined advancement, there entered a verie seruent affection and good will betwene them, with a reciproke answering of beneuolence each one to the other, vntill their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the pillar of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts which God had bestowed vpon him euerie waie. For concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and well compact, and well besene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

The painfull  
travails of the  
lord deputie  
not considered

The ingratitude of the Lacedæmonians to Alcibiades.

pa, The par  
e, a rage of fir  
tie Henrie  
the Sidneie.

oun, Sir the  
erie Sidne  
the brought  
the coun

and Sir  
as a Sidn  
and king  
part panion  
bedfell

...who  
ness.  
order

icfl, The  
of all dubbed  
d ad Henry  
ation ne an  
e an willia  
antiffl cill kn  
ere da

Edm. A. ...

Mr. Henry  
Adams at  
ambassador  
London times.

Mr Henrie  
Sidonie lord  
president of  
wales and  
knight of the  
garter,

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie lord  
treasuroꝝ at  
armes.  
He was lord  
iustice foure  
times.  
The plot of  
Sir Henrie  
Sidneies go-  
uernement.

Religion.

Wante born  
in Ireland  
neuer christ  
ned

10



\_\_\_\_\_

Shane D  
nelle Nain



of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so courteous and so goodlie, so discret and so sober, as he was another Scipio; being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finally so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassado: into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and thwice in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by quene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Philip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassado: into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Conde and the duke of Guise.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell. But before this, immediatlie upon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer: at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experience in that land, he was made lord iustice foure times, and was lord deputie thre times. In which offices, how he did most honozable acquite himselfe, his acts do declare, and the summarie recital shall partly discover and set downe. He was no longer placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more careful in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had daily exercises of prayers, both earlie and late, morning & euening, neither would he haue anie to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dyonhards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papistick religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knew anie christening; great was his griefe, and much was he inquieten, untill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherefore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & prayed for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he joined, furthered and holpe them accordinglie to the uttermost. But yet it toke not that good effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall livings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but upon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. He wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoop, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane O'Neill, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge

a superior, by a baught was brought to his deserved confusion: & whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied vpon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie perorages of the same, he brought to the quenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his vntamed springals he brake submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vnicontant earle of Desmond and all his vildaines and followers, and the proud and ingrateful earle of Clancar, and all the Irishie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Canenaghs, the Dwoles, the Abirnes, the Dcomozes, the Dmozers, and a rabble of other like lepts, together with Rorie Og, Rheon Mac Helu, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare totaltie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Peccati*, and conformed themselves in all dutifullnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other means might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pitthe persuasions, sound arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maiestic and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and sound, learned, and upright iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestic most gratiofullie granted, and he most iustallie obtained.

In Shounster therefore first he placed a cozonell to breake the ice; namelye sir Humfrete Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall service, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Dzurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie crautie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made cozonell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capitaine, and how vprightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their seuerall prouinces; the records and registers of their doings do at large witness and set forth. The like order he took also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all sutors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kindred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestic, procured them to be removed, and their romes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, attorneie, and sollicitors. And further also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and thowed in filth and cobwebs, and vtterlie unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

All Ulster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned. The mightie earles in Shounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

Sir Humfrete Gilbert cozonell in Shounster. Sir John Perot, Sir William Dzurie lord presidents in Shounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawiers placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reformed and printed.

man: of the putie adored.

Sir Henrie Sidney an ambassado: into France.

Ingrati: of the edemont: to A. 1.

Sir Henrie Sidney lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidney lord treasurer at the wars. He was lord iustice foure times. Knight of the garter. Gouernor of Ireland.

ye parent: of the newe sonne.

Sir Henrie Sidney was brought by in the court.

Sir Henrie Sidney the king his companion and fellow.

The king died in Sir Henrie Sidney's times.

The king dubbith Sir Henrie Sidney and Sir William Cecil knights in one daie.

Edm. Molineux.

Sir Henrie Sidney.

# The Chronicles of Ireland.

152

noztant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a through view, and a review to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in vze and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set up in places convenient.

The castell chamber bulle kept.

Edm. Molli-neu.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Molengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie re-edified.

The bridge of Athlon new builded.

By building of which bridge a passage (never before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, apalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his foresaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to his maiestie. And for easing thereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and devised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and his highnesse be relieved of the great and intollerable charges which the saidie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase his revenues and yearelie receipts to about eleven thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he have done, if he had staid there but a short time longer than he did.

The quantity great charges to be raised.

His maiestie revenues created.

The cells impugned.

The corrupt and vngreatfull nature of the Irishmen.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuerfation. He was godlie disposed, & a zealous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pithie sentences, such perswasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine unto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldom or neuer in anye discomposur or extraordinary cholere, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euery deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, to whom he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most louing maister to all such as serued him, whom he loved full dearely. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do any thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were prisiue to all or most part of his actions; Sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignozant in any thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*, and the other *Mens fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partly by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturalie and vngreatfullie they haue requested and recompensed him. Not much vnlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturall historie saie) it is done by the mouth, she immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroyeth him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their fire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and reade now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturalie do gnaw out his wombe and belie to his confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngreatfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the daileie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and

The good vertues and disposition of Sir Henrie Shute. Religious. Eloquent.

Stable.

Temperat.

Liberal. A housekeeper.

So much of this Sir Henrie Shute, the English chomicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molli-neu.

The ingratitude of the Irish.

The nature of the viper.

safeti  
man  
den i  
ther  
nest  
leue  
not c  
mud  
thing  
and r  
sona  
the l  
Eng  
thid  
repu  
rupt  
nini  
ture  
cesse  
he b  
thing  
like  
toon  
be ex  
mou  
they  
and i  
day  
and  
coun  
ting  
uer  
be b  
cord  
had  
uere  
nati  
tall  
on, i  
for b  
nest  
fict  
it; l  
mei  
and  
like  
uer  
can  
spit  
the  
bag  
out  
nat  
tim  
a m  
tim  
in  
and  
out  
cut  
lin  
too  
feli  
bp  
fan  
bar  
int  
blo  
uer  
bp  
ant

This is a terrible parliament.

The death of Sir Henrie Shute.

This is a  
translation  
of the  
original.

The cell is  
painted.

The corrupt  
and ungrat-  
ful nature of  
the English.

god ber-  
and dis-  
tion of the  
re Shid.

able.

imperat.

berail  
household.

Of all de-  
vils upon all  
peoples  
in Ireland.

is more of  
the English  
monies,  
in. Dom.  
186, noted  
Edm. Mo-  
noux.

The ingrat-  
itude of the  
and.

The nature of  
the viper.

safetie, could ne would be ever thankfull. As besides  
manie examples it appeared at the parlement holden  
in the eleventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne,  
where then lawes were to be established for their be-  
nefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and  
lewd vsages, which were among the Irishie, they  
not onelie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as  
much as in them laie: but recompensed the good  
things (for their benefites established) with open war  
and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a rea-  
sonable and vsed cesse was to be set and leuied for  
the benefit of the inhabitants and dwellers in the  
English pale; and for the repress of their enemies  
which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly  
repine and did resist the same. For this is their cor-  
rupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the e-  
nemie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduen-  
ture neuer to great dangers for them, were his suc-  
cesse neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If  
he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie  
thing for their behoofe, yet would they mislike it. If  
anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would  
like it; and vpon neuer so little occasion offered they  
would make their complaints, libels should daile  
be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open  
mouths they would exclaim, and nothing would  
they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit  
and impeachment of his gouernement. But truely the  
daughter of time, which in the end was manifested;  
and when he had yeilded before hir highnesse and  
counsell a true and a perfect account of all his do-  
ings, and had trulie manifested the course of his go-  
uernement, then their glittering gold was found to  
be worse than copper, not abiding the hammer; he ac-  
cording to his desert receiued thanks, and they re-  
proch and ignominie. Wherefore great god cause  
had he to be glad and ioyfull, that he was to be deli-  
uered from so vngratfull a people and vnthankfull a  
nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a sa-  
tall and an inescapable destinie incident to that na-  
tion, that they cannot but keepe anie English gouernor;  
for he neuer so iust, vpright, & carefull for their be-  
nefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so bene-  
ficiall to their commonwealth, they account not of  
it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouerne-  
ment and aduised in his doings, they will discredit  
and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then  
like a fox of nettles they will sting him; if he be se-  
uer, they will curse him; and let him do the best he  
can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and  
spite.

This noble and worthy man, who aboue all o-  
thers had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most  
happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone  
out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne  
native countrie of Chanaan, who therefore some-  
times attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as  
a most faithfull graue, and wise counsellor: some-  
times he followed his charge and calling of president  
in Wales, which office he did most honorable vse  
and discharge. In the end, when Lachesis had spun  
out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to ex-  
cute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and fee-  
ling a decate of nature, and that he did daile way-  
weaker and weaker, he yeilded and humbled him-  
selfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting  
vp his eyes, he continued in most hartie and inces-  
sant prayers vnto God, crauing with a most penitent  
hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule  
into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the  
blood of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue o-  
uer, his tong ceased, and his sight failed, he yeilded  
vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most goodlie  
and christian manner the first daie of Maie, one thou-

sand five hundred eighty and six. His bodie was tri-  
bowed, and his entrails were buried in the deans  
chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his  
hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intombed in the  
tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was  
buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of  
the same towne; wherein he had erected a certeine mo-  
nument for a perpetuall remembrance to that towne  
& to Eikenhill, to which he was verie much affected,  
& made his most abode during the time of his presi-  
dencie. And from thence his bodie by easie iournies  
was verie honorable carried to his house of Wene-  
hurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was in-  
terred in all honorable maner, as to his estate did a-  
gree vpon the one and twentieth of June, in the yeare  
one thousand five hundred eighty and six, he being  
then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeares. And  
thus this noble and worthy knight, who had spent  
the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of  
his prince, and to the great benefit of the common-  
wealth, is now deliuered vnto the everlasting ser-  
uice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens  
he resteth in blisse and soie with the foure and twentie  
elders, who there are now beholding the face of God,  
and praising his holie name for euer.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being en-  
tered into the gouernement, and finding it in some  
quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow  
that course as neere as he could, as which was left  
vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land  
verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yeare after his  
entrie into that office and gouernement, until that  
Rominish cockatrice, which a long time had set abrod  
vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickens, which be-  
ing venomous as were their fire, raised, wrought,  
and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie  
through out that land. For James Fitzmoris a Ch-  
raldine & couline germane to the earle of Desmond,  
who not manie yeares before had bene an archtra-  
itor, and a principall captaine of the warres and re-  
bellion in Spounster; and wherein he was then so fo-  
lowed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then  
lord president of Spounster; that after manie and  
sundry conflicts, he was in the end compelled and  
inforced to yeeld and submit himselfe, and to craue  
hir maiesties gracious pardon: inasmuch that he  
came in simple into the towne of Kilmallocke, and  
there in the church before all the people did humble  
and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president,  
and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all  
dutifullnesse, truth, & obedience for euer to hir high-  
nesse, and to the crowne of England.

Then this perjured castile, who for his treasons  
and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had  
deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of a  
mendement hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and  
sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard es-  
quier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorouslie fled  
into France, and there comming into the kings pre-  
sence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole  
realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie  
would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and  
monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of  
in such an action. The king at the first gaue him good  
countenance, great rewards, & liberall intertaine-  
ment, and accepted his offer; but when he had well  
considered the matter, and had further looked into  
the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris,  
who had staid there in the French court about two  
yeares, and saw nothing go forward, & the French  
king wared cold; who in the end gaue him no other  
answer, but that he would commend him by his let-  
ters to his sister the queene of England, for obtai-  
ning of a pardon for him, and for hir good counte-  
nance

Edm. Mo-  
noux.

Sir William  
Dunne the  
lord iustice for  
lowery the  
course of his  
predecessor to  
rule in peace.

James Fitz-  
moris on  
archtraitor.

James Fitz-  
moris submit-  
ted himselfe  
and sweareth  
obedience.

James Fitz-  
moris hath  
his pardon  
sent vnto him.

James Fitz-  
moris death  
into France  
and offereth  
the crowne of  
Ireland to the  
French king.

The French  
king mil-  
lery to deale  
in Ireland  
matters.

# The Chronicles of Ireland.

154

James Fitz-  
morris saileth  
to king Philip  
and to the  
pope.

James Fitz-  
morris his  
promise to  
king Philip  
and the  
pope.

The pope is  
glad of  
James Fitz-  
morris offer.

James Fitz-  
morris saileth  
acquainted  
with doctor  
Sanders and  
doctor Allen.

James Fitz-  
morris is fur-  
nished with  
ships and all  
necessaries.

James Fitz-  
morris landeth  
at Salter  
Marie weke  
in Ireland  
with foure  
score Spa-  
niards.

James Fitz-  
morris ships  
are taken as-  
sured by one  
Thomas  
Courtneie a  
gentleman of  
Devon.

Sir James  
and sir John  
of Desmond  
the eardles  
brethren come  
to James  
Fitzmorris.

nance towards him : he forsake France , and made a tourne into Spaine unto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cathell, being not wil- ling to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmorris made his iourne from thence to the pope, unto whom he declared that he had bene with king Philip, as doth appeare by his letters of credit to his holiness; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland by in- to their hands, and reduce the same againe to the ho- lie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessaries as should be requisite in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this sute, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end upon sundrie conferences betwene the pope and king Philip, it was agræd betwene them, that Fitzmorris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things neces- sary for this seruice. James Fitzmorris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor San- ders an English Jesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Je- suit, and both traitors to his maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a sute, & they in great fauor with the pope, folowed the sute verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the bittermost in their owne persons.

Now when all things were concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Al- len, and James Fitzmorris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing: and there- with his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwene them both, he was furnished with all things meet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time ser- ued they imbarked themselves, and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose, and ar- rived at Smerweke, alias saint Marie weke, in the beginning of Iulie 1579, nere the Dingle a cuth in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his com- panie, being about the number of foure score Spa- niards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the bate for their safetie: and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

The two doctors, when they had halloved the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kinsale a Deuonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmorris, and of the popes traitorous le- gats, was contented, and by the persuation of Hen- rie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and doubled the point, came into the bate of Saint Marie weke or Smer- weke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmor- ris at anchor, was so bold in the waie of good speed to take them. And after that he had staied there a while in that seruice, he took them all along with him: whereby James Fitzmorris and his companie lost apeece of the popes blessing, for they were also- gither destituted of anie ship, to ease and releue themselves by the seas, what need sooner should hap- pen. As soon as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abroad forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequen- tie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arrivall of his their cousin,

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, selev- ers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire unto him: whose commings and companie he accepted verie thankfullie, sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousin the John of Desmond. Which when sir John perceived, he desired how he would salue that foie, as most wis- kedlie after wards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in need: sieng of a castell, which he had in the confines of Brenne Agonellis countrie, who as soon as he heard of the arrivall of his cousin James Fitzmorris, he forthwith did discharge and dismishe his whole com- panie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew that he neuer meant, that he was to withstand and resist his cousin and all his compa- nie, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would do great things and worke mira- cles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to the earle of Clancar, a willett him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his speedie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Ma- rie weke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a peece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come unto him with all speed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as nere to the Dingle as he might: and accordingly he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond le- med to like well though it were against the sple- neuertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he deuise matters whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the unwill- lingnesse of Desmond to do anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he took the best oportunitie he could, and departed awate from him, and dismissed his companie.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soon as he was aduertised of James Fitzmorris landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the quænes force towards Mounster, dispatch- ing also a messenger to his maiestie of these toward- boiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things, as to such a great action did appertene, he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should pacifie with them to prepare themselves to be in a readi- nesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter prionoff marshall of Mounster, made his speedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his bre- thren being in Kerrie, and aduertised unto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him late did persuaue them to the like, who as then had all his force and souldiers about him. From thence he departed to the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easie as yet overthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, persuaading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be greatlie to his honor. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to do so good a peece of seruice, answered; that he would not aduenture to take so great an enterpryse in hand with so small a compa- nie as he then had. Then Dauels went to sir James and to sir John of Desmonds the eardles brethren, and

The earle be-  
ing of the  
land of  
James Fitz-  
morris  
ouer his  
bawling.

The erle of  
Desmond  
pretending  
some seruice  
against the  
rebels  
to the earle  
of Clancar  
to come  
with  
him.

The erle of  
Clancar  
returneth  
to the earle  
of Des-  
mond.

Desmond  
hath not  
Clancars  
readynesse.

Clancar  
de-  
parteth  
from  
Desmond.

The lord  
iustice  
directeth  
to march  
towards  
Mounster.

Henrie Da-  
uels sent  
to the earle  
of Desmond.

Henrie Da-  
uels per-  
suadeth  
both Des-  
mond  
to serve  
against  
the  
rebels.

Desmond  
refuseth  
to  
serve  
against  
the  
rebels.

The earle re-  
sisteth to do  
anie seruice.

Henrie Da-  
uels depar-  
teth from  
Desmond.

Sir John of  
Desmond fol-  
loweth Da-  
uels and co-  
mpleth the  
poster.

Henrie Da-  
uels most  
crucelle mur-  
dered.

The faithles-  
nesse of a boie  
to his master.

Henrie Da-  
uels what he  
was, and of  
his conditions.

and  
eith  
bor  
tali  
the  
Ca  
he  
the  
gu  
lik

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

pe  
mo  
a p  
me  
an  
ben  
to  
for  
the  
but  
sta  
in  
at  
S  
Ma  
rie  
we  
ke  
hou  
tha  
and  
hau  
wa  
but  
leig  
had  
gat  
Da  
tha  
to b  
lan  
bed  
No  
in  
t  
hed  
left  
rie  
we  
his  
wit  
Da  
now  
and  
enc  
we  
son  
for  
the  
the  
all  
lat  
ten  
th  
rai  
ari  
kil  
Si  
see  
bp  
kil  
as  
ctu

and persuaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to do that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasse, and about thre score of his shot, and he would ioine with capteine Courtneie who laie then within the bate with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should do the like by sea.

But the earle, being moued hereof, would not yeeld to this motion, but answered that his shot was more met to shot at foule than fit to aduventure such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasse were good men to incounter with Gallowglasse, and not to answer old souldiers. Where vpon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he together with the prouost marshall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Tralceigh, which is about fise miles from castell Spaine, and laie that night in one Kices house, who kept a vittelling house and a wine tauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were dispersed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose hart

was imbued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Tralceigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so nere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men bozne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed, & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wished deuse came to the house, the castell doore being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swordes drawne, and went forthwith by into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asleepe, but with the noise they were suddenlie awaked. When Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his sword drawne, he was somewhat astonied at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was euer wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonne! what is the matter? But he answered him: No more sonne, no; no more father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, sauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall messenger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond. This boie seeing his maister to be thus murdered ran vpon John of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crying; What wilt thou kill my maister? But he answered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his maister, crying; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me also. And so saued him as well, and so long as he could. But it auailed not, for slaine and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, bozne in Devon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wozy shipfall house, and being but a yonger brother, and

hauing but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres against the French king, he entred into France to seeke his aduantage: and there he had verie good intertainment, and proued to be a verie good souldiour. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Barwikke: and from thence he was remoued into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight constable of Leighlin, and seneschall of Merford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in maruelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was too hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there.

As for his countriemen, he was so deere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a friend, and more like a friend than an vnacquainted countrieman: for he was an host and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was frendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that intertainment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euerslasking fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he suffer them to be oppressed or inured: a great housekeeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie esteemed. When he was in office among them, he was byright and iudged righteoullie; if out of office, louing & frendlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once

said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of the men had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he kepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie hozseboies had free passage euen through the enemies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie occasion to trauell in that countrie throughout Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a hozseboie of his, he should not onelie passe freele throughout the countries without impeachment, but should haue

also verie good and frendlie intertainment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Desmond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at farres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwene them: wherein he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties embraced him for his byrightnesse and indifferencie. The earle of Desmond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his bythen found such a friend of him, and such intertainment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their friend; and manie times it stood

The loue of Dauels to his countriemen.

The credit of Dauels word.

The earle hearing of the anding of James Fitzmoris giueth mer his buildings.

The earle of Desmond pretending some seruice against the rebels sendeth to the earle of Clancar to ioine with him.

The earle of Clancar attendeth the earle of Desmond.

Desmondli: keth not Clancars readinesse.

Clancar departeth from Desmond.

The lord iustice prepaireth to march into Mounster.

Henrie Dauels sent to the earle of Desmond.

Henrie Dauels persuadeth both Desmond to serue as all gainst the rebels.

He sheweth to the earle of Desmond.

Desmond refuseth to serue the earle of Desmond.

Desmond refuseth to serue the earle of Desmond.

Desmond refuseth to serue the earle of Desmond.



them in god freed.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie uncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furie neuer so hot, and he neuer so hattie, yet could he appeale and quiet him. And as for sir John of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme friendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any means be dissolved. For in what distresse so euer sir John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redeemed him out of prison, yea out of the castle of Dublin, when he was committed for capital crimes, and became suretie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purse was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this goodwill grew betwene them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him sonne. And now see, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, friendship, and humanitie, the sonne most vnnaturallic bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murdered him. Who worth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subject, the gouernours of so trustie a seruitor, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most dutifull to his superiours, vpriht in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his friend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succourer of the oppressed; finally such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the grasse of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the gallows, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this cruellie vpon his god friend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great haunterie, recompting vnto them what a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in murdering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, saying; I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all Englishmen) & said to his counsiller James; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my bittermost. James Fitzmoris when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioice and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the manner of his death, blaming and reprobuing him verie much, that he should murder him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his slepe, which he said was too cruell, because he might otherwise haue had advantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Holubert, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice before God did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his finnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie grieved and offended with his brother, and gaue him such sharpe speeches and reproches, as it was thought they would not so soon haue bene friends againe; but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had bene) one Appeneie an English captive, who could do verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and dissembling his griefe, persuadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remoue from thence to his house of Acketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limericke, and there to abide the coming of the lord iustice, and to loine with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and remoued from thence to Acketten, where he laie close and did nothing, but still seemed in speeches and outward shewes to mislike with James Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet daily his best followers and soldiers flocked and repared to James Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards; but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet any other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to mislike it; and distrust- ing of any god successe, did repent and were sorie, wishing themselves at home againe: but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessitie so compelling, they resolved themselves to abide the hazard.

James Fitzmoris, perceiuing their discontented minds, had conference with them, & persnaded them to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortly haue a greater supplie and companie which he daily looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of thre or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie road or crosse in Tipozarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praiering their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Ulster, and in both his waies, his nearest waie was through Tipozarie, and there to flocke and draw vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could wage to loine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie ready to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with thre or foure hundred men, and a dozen harknes, he passed through the countie of Limericke, & came into the countie of sir William Burke his verie nere counsiller and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did loine with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

And when he came so farre in his iournie, being now about thre score miles from S. Parie weke, his cariage horses (which they terme garrons) were so faint, and could not trauell any further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & looke what garrons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espied a plot of garrons plowing in the field, which they forthwith toke perforce from the poore husbandmen two of them, and caried them awaie. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the tract, & some went to their lords house, which was sir William Burke being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who having thre or foure of his sonnes and verie tall gentlemen

Henrie Dauels alwaies a fast friend to sir John of Desmond.

The brags of John Desmond for killing of Dauels.

His cruellie misliked.

The popes doctors do allow and commend the murder.

The earle of Desmond re- turneth to Acketten.

The earle of Desmond re- turneth to the countie.

The Spaniards do not their coming.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

The conditions of James Fitzmoris.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

The Spaniards follow the tract.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

James Fitzmoris percei- ueth the Spaniards to be discontented.

then in at home with him, they took their horses  
and a few harnes and two shot with them, and fol-  
lowed the tract, and overtook them at a fastness call-  
ed by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmor-  
ris, whom before they knew not to be come into  
those parties, to make head to answer them. But  
when he saw that it was his cousin Theobald  
Burke and his brother and his companie, who had  
bene his companions in the late rebellion when  
sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he  
spoke over unto them, and said; Cousine Theobald,  
who was the eldest son to his father, two carriage  
horses shall be no breach betwene vs two; and I  
hope that you which do know the cause that I have  
now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do  
as I and others will do: and so continuing some  
speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his  
companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he  
answered that he and his father had already dealt  
to much that waie with him, and that he will neuer  
do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his bre-  
thren, had sworn to be true, obedient, and faithfull to  
the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would ne-  
uer breake: cursing the date and time that ever they  
joined with him in so bad a cause against his maie-  
stie, and therefore required to haue his garrons a-  
gaine, or else he would come by them aswell as he  
could.

James Fitzmorris standing upon his reputation;  
thought it too much dishonorable unto him to depart  
with that which he had in hand; and therefore bitterlie  
denied the deliuerie, and thereupon each partie set  
spurre to the horses and encountered the one the o-  
ther. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and  
Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were  
slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmorris like-  
wise and his companie had the like successe, for he  
himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then  
with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was  
slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he  
found that the popes blessings and warrant, his  
*Agnus Dei*; and his graines had not those vertues to  
saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill  
him. Thus was his highnesse most happy, and that  
whole land most happiest, that they were deliuered  
from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the  
great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one  
of his heads. For other wise it was to be doubted that  
if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much  
bloodshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue  
joined with him. For he was of verie good credit &  
estimation through the whole land, he was of a verie  
good gouernement, and of a great ready; but a deepe  
dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie  
matter which he took in hand, familiar to all men,  
and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in  
martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that  
baggage religion, that he became a most horrible  
traitour to his maiestie, and a mortall enemie to e-  
uerie good man: and so far he was imbrued herein,  
that a man might saie that he was borne to the  
same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God,  
to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made  
known to the lord iustice, he gave order that he  
should be hanged in the open market of Kilmal-  
locke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to  
be set upon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a  
perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his treasons  
and perturbances, contrarie to his soleinne oth taken in  
that errour. His maiestie, when she was aduertised  
of this peece of god seruice of sir William Burke  
and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letter  
of the god acceptation of his seruice, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create  
him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters  
patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare  
of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a  
hundred markes, to be paid at hir maiesties exchequer  
yearelie during his life, wherof he took so sudden toy  
that he sloued, and seemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmorris  
was brought to the fort at S. Marie wake, great so-  
row was amongst them all, they being all amazed  
and wist not what to do, especiallie the Spaniards  
who depart could not, and to submit themselves they  
would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue o-  
uer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which pur-  
pose they would haue followed, if that sir John of  
Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he  
hauing imbrued himselfe so unnaturalie in blood,  
and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned,  
did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is afore-  
said) immediatlie upon the newes of the arrivall of  
these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Da-  
uels, made his preparation of all the forces which his  
maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hun-  
dred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie  
small companie for so great seruice towards: yet  
considering that the victorie consisteth not in the  
arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onelie in the  
god gift of God; he marcheth forth in his tourne,  
hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicho-  
las Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Galbie  
colonell of Connagh, Jaques Wellingfield master of  
the ordnance, and Edward Waterhouse one of his  
maiesties seruants, Edward Jitton, Thomas Pa-  
rker, and others. And of the Irish lords he was ac-  
companied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dil-  
lon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the ba-  
ron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine,  
who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, be-  
sides footmen and harnes: and so they marched for-  
ward by iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke,  
where not farre from the towne they all incamped:  
& then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle  
of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall  
gentlemen of the best account in those parties, to  
come unto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie  
willing to come, but untill he had receiued some pro-  
mise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered  
and trified the time and came not. But in the end his  
lordship being verie well accompanied with horse-  
men and footmen, he went to the campe, and presen-  
ted himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew  
of all dutifullnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, where as in-  
ded no such thing was ment. For though his bodie  
were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he  
was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised  
by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they  
came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice.  
Whereupon he was committed to the custodie of the  
knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and  
feeling least some greater matters would be re-  
uealed against him, he praied acceffe to the lord ius-  
tice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and  
promised and swore upon his honour & allegiance,  
that he would faithfullie and to the bittermost of his  
power serue his highnesse against the rebels. Whose  
humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the ad-  
uise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him:  
which was in the end the bitter confusion of the earle  
himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time  
great troubles, causes of much bloodshed, and vndo-  
ing of all Mounster.

While the lord iustice saie thus in campe about  
Kilmallocke, newes was brought unto him, that sir  
P. J.

Sir William  
Burke being  
made a baron  
founded for  
top a shozelle  
after died.

The Spaniards  
were amazed  
with the death  
of Fitzmorris.

Sir John of  
Desmond sup-  
plyed James  
Fitzmorris  
home.

Sir William  
Dunne lord  
iustice ma-  
ked a tourne  
into Moun-  
ster.

The lord ius-  
tice incam-  
ped near to  
Kilmallocke.

The earle of  
Desmond com-  
meth to the  
lord iustice to  
the campe.

The earle of  
Desmond was  
committed to  
ward.

The earle of  
Desmond  
deth humble  
himselfe and  
swore: ch  
seruic tralle.

The earle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Kilketten.

The earle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Kilketten.

The earle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Kilketten.

The earle of  
Desmond re-  
moueth to  
Kilketten.

James Fitz-  
morris priuie-  
ly dethe the Spaniards to pa-  
tience.

James Fitz-  
morris priuie-  
ly dethe the Spaniards to pa-  
tience.

James Fitz-  
morris priuie-  
ly dethe the Spaniards to pa-  
tience.

James Fitz-  
morris priuie-  
ly dethe the Spaniards to pa-  
tience.

James Fitz-  
morris priuie-  
ly dethe the Spaniards to pa-  
tience.

John of Desmond  
incamped  
perth at Slewo  
lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great compaigne of the rebels upon the borders of Slewo lougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person encounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrie, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waite, and he the earle would take another waite: which aduise was followed. But because that place of the present seruice is adjoining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his compaigne into two other parts, and so euerie of these three compaignes took waite into the wood & serched it thoroughout, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices coming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawne towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and wast the forrage of that countrie, which was one of the chiefest places of reliefe that the enemies had. And from thence he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gibbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Cemeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and traouelling to and fro, in all such seruices as was daillie offered to be done vpon the enimie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and took out of the Irish compaignes one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Dillie.

These two capteins had made spall vpon certeine rebels, which shrouded themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Cotenbye castell, the said John of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and encountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their compaigne slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his enimies being strong and manie: and his compaigne weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Coznewall arrived at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bourchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose coming at so present a distresse was both iollfull and also glad some.

And nere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some pcece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a tourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so shifted himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of his Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enimies were daillie stronger and stronger, the sent ouer sir John Perot late president of pounster, with six ships well furnished and ap-

pointed, whereof he was admerall; and William Gozge master porter of the towler and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arrived vnto the citie of Cozke. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine horsemen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hino. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to encourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bourchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Poze, and vsing vnto them verie good speeches, to encourage and persuade them to do his maiestie good seruice in these his affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordingly did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more careful he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so overcame himselfe with studieng, watching, labouring and traouelling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being overcome by sicknesse, and diuient to yeeld thereunto, was determined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for his highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Vpon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Palbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe enerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recouerie.

And yet mindfull of his maiesties seruice, he to encourage other therein, sent & called before him William Pelham esquier, William Gozge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welly maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recouer his helth of bodie, but that still decayed. And doubting verie much of his reconerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancelor, and to the ladie Phame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordingly satisfied his request. But he inioied their compaignie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before haue bene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipozarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onclie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a fauor in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe nere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaied any more to the lord iustice, but stode vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie

Hostlie ap  
But I  
mediatlie  
rie vnto  
laid vpon  
performe  
great expe  
rents; a  
knowledge  
dent in ge  
nations;  
uerall go  
trauelled.  
and fittie  
commant  
nice then  
teine Do  
mallocke  
hoxmen,  
maist for  
coueted f  
waie, the  
of the oth  
siue of t  
tie of L  
time to r  
Martin  
god by b  
of Desir  
conferer  
uise for  
The earl  
game be  
ned not  
sent for  
still at h  
miles fr  
in anie  
but that  
then, al  
and in a  
suspect  
would  
the gou  
frinolo  
god to  
but lest  
incam  
seruice  
nie fir  
liam &  
Fisher  
Hind;  
one hu  
aduer  
incam  
of De  
come  
ster f  
appea  
hostie  
or the  
cast o  
verie  
being  
ward  
by th  
der,  
sett  
to th  
sam  
with

The comm  
the earle of  
Richard  
Dublin.

Knights  
bed in f  
f  
f

Sir William  
Dunne  
fiche & gon  
to Waterford

The gouernoz  
Limerike for  
the earle of  
Desmond.

The earle  
gri  
only onclie  
sonnes and  
William.

Knights  
bed at wa  
terford.

The gouernoz  
remoueth from  
Limerike to  
Connello.

Sir William  
Dunne  
iustice dunt

The comm  
of Desmond  
giueth hir  
to be a pledge  
for his father.

The gouernoz  
marcheth to  
Limerike to  
meet John of  
Desmond.

Sir John of  
Desmond lieth  
in an ambush  
for the Eng  
lish capteins  
and discomf  
teth them.

The Deuon  
shire souldiers  
arrive at wa  
terford.

Sir John  
Perot sent to  
serue on sea.

housle appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Spalbie, who immediately vpon the departure of sir William Daurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to followe and perforce the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing bene seruiant that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations, as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing bene a student in god letters, and a great trauelier in sundrie nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the severall governments in euery such place as there he trauelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the service then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, capitaine Dowdall, and capitaine Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie horsemen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place met for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie coveted to possesse. But the more his care was that waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waie to keepe the same. When with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limerike, where he staied and remained for a time to refresh his souldiours.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capitaine, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for his maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good words, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but laie still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike. For albeit as yet he was not in ante actual rebellion, yet it was not unknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brothers, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to the gouernour; but still fed him with faire words and frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouernour thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limerike, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forthwards to doe some seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his companie six hundred footmen vnder the ensignes of sir William Stanleie, capitaine George Carew, capitaine Fisher, capitaine Furle, capitaine Piers, & capitaine Windz; and he himselfe and capitaine Apellie referred one hundred horsemen betwene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connello vnder their capitaine John of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come nere to an abbey or monastrie called Ponaster Penagh, seven miles from Limerike, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or thereabouts, marching in battell arate, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euery thing verie well and orderlie.

When the gouernour perceived and beheld this, being verie glad that some pce of seruice was towards, he likewise conferreth with his capitaine, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quazant proportion, setting out his flankers in severall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same; but his carriages he placed in the reerward, with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all

things were thus ordered, he marched forthwards to the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or flie, and that brags would not beare out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed; and then marching forthwards in verie good order, he took a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to abide the fight, disposed his horsemen, footmen, & longlasses, and his shot for his best strength and advantage.

The gouernour setteth on wards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volces, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercely & desperattlie set vpon them afresh with the third volce, that they were discomfited and had the overthrow giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as a worthy Kerres, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who sooner turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of heels, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chafe, there were slaine and hurt, which died shortly after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skillfull, and also deaming the victorie by his incantments to be at his commandement, incouraged John of Desmond forthwards: and in the campe in the waie of god speed would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Pazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asleepe and could not heare.

Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that day giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the full reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and disloiallie forsake the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto his highnesse, and devoted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lerne stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakefast.

This baron of Lerne was eldest sonne, named Patrick, was seruant to his maiestie and sworne, and serued in the court; but had leaue of his maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsake his faith and oth to his highnesse, and became a wicked rebel, and most traitorouslie bare armes against his highnesse, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the blood of that cursed generation, among whome there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and beluet: euen so this wicked impe. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, sworne seruant vnto his maiestie, in god fauour and countenance in the court, and apparelled

The popes banner was plaied.

The battell betweene the gouernour and sir John of Desmond.

The Irish lost the field.

Doctor Allen is slaine.

Doctor Allen incouraged the campe to fight.

The earle of Desmond was in view of the fight.

The baron of Lerne was son, seruant to the quene and sworne, beareth armes against his highnesse.

No faith nor regard of an oth among the Irish.

led according to his degree, and dailie nurtured and brought up in all civillitie: he was no sooner come home, but atwaie with his English attires, and on with his hoggs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the historie.

Jupiters cat.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamped himselfe fast by the river side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there late that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and toisfull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of his great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and soine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yeeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained theneforth in the same place thre or foure daies, expecting still the earles coming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that theneforth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire speeches to gaine time to serue his tunc, removed from thence to a towne of the earles named Kikell, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declared to the gouernor that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarm made, & sundrie horsemen & foot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enemies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmond dissembling, & his counsell.

The earle of Desmond sheweth himselfe to be an open rebell.

The gouernor remoueth to Kikell.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealth to the gouernors campe to in-trap it.

A garison placed at Kikell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last overthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declared the whole bent of the earle and his brother. His piece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking advantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and mislead of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enemies was to do what they could to remove him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enemies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enemies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

they had a continuall recourse to: so that waie: he before his departure from thence did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoy the enemies verie much: and then from thence he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the river, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the river, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbets house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capitains what were best to be done, it was agreed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vying manie good words, termes, and reasons to persuade him to conformitie and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the vtter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roeluis the great prince of South Wales by his mother Isesta, daughter vnto the said Roeluis, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And heretofore by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Geraldines came out of Italy; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some intertinement and liuing at Winesfor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Winesfor: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepflow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaine himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeeld and relent: but leaning his former and wanted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he forthwith his strongest and best houses and castles: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castles of Carigofole and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly; news was brought him that sir William Dzurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford vpon the thirde of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

Asketten the chiefest house of the earles.

A letter sent to the earle of Desmond to persuade him to submission.

The house of Desmond.

The earle of Desmond will not be persuaded.

The earle of Desmond secretly his treacheries.

Sir William Dzurie lord iustice.

The combats and maners of the William Dzurie.

His seruice at Ballongne.

He is taken prisoner.

He serueth at sea.

His seruice at the commotion in Desmon.

His seruice at Berwick. He is promoted marshall. He is dubbed knight.

His genera of the armie, and doth a good piece of seruice in Scotland.

He begetteth and taketh the barony of castle.

He writeth Dzurie sent into Ireland to be lord president of the countie.

His



This sir William Durié was verie ballant, wise, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother ante kind of waite in the gifts of wisdom, ballantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie scruples he did grow and increase, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightly excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord priate seale, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and intertainment: for vnder him he serued in France at Puttrel and Bollongnois, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambrase and in Artois. And in the end about Burelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redeemed and ransomed, and then he would needs serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentureth that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despaire for euer to recover: neuer thelesse, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaye; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great courage: and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in the seruice against the rebels of Devon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand five hundred fortye and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwik, where his baloz and behanor was such, that he was made psonall marshall vnder the earle of Suffolk being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degree of knightshood.

Not long after that, there was a péece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the quenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherefore he deputed in his place this worshipfull knight, whome he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought meet he entred into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Spencers, sir George Carew, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capteins, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the dissension among the noblemen, about the murdering of the earle of Murreie, he took, spoiled, and burned sundrie forts and castles: and in the end besieged and took the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

In verie short time after, hir maiestie hauing good experience of the baloz of this knight euerie waie, as well for his ballantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdom in ciuill gouernement, the callet and baweth him from his office and charge at Berwik, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be imployed in the office of a lord president, and assigned vnto him the gouernement of the whole province of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient

matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued hir highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now settled in his roome and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, he acquitteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuer a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of hir maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his trial in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmond began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmoris, and the Italians latelie come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifying, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he took such continuall trauels and troubles, & so busied his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the citie of Waterford, and from thence his corps was removed to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Durié was expired and ended, gaue ouer to followe ante actual warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but removed himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abroad in townes and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne guards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongest the capteins thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capteine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worshipfull knight, of whose prowesse and ballantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisdom & brightness in gouernement, they had good trial; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leaue and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorrowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull vp their spirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be utterly deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most principall capteins, they would set seuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigofaile, some at Alketten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at

Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew late, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred kerns and fiftie horses was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narrowlie, that none durst to peepe nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when bittels waied short within doores, the soldiers, who could not be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of bittels did increase, so did their misings out vpon the enemies grow and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrances with the enemies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-

Sir William Durié is made lord iustice of all Ireland.

The rebellion of the Desmonds in Mounster.

The death of sir William Durié.

The campe is dissolved and dispersed into garrisons.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew are assigned to Adare.

The garrisons are besetted and inclosed by the Irish.

Sir James of Desmond besiegeth Adare.

The Irish men leave to smite on the garrison.

30. 4. rage

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering ever lost some of their companie. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captiues were not to seeke, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteine, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they took a bote of a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuier, which lieth betwene Adare and the Rerie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & appertaining to the knight of the ballie, who then was in actuall rebellion against his maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then laie at a castell named Ballinloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoever they thought good: in their returne before they could recouer the riuier, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the ballie, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue six score persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and hernes; and sir James himselfe with others greivouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, saving sundrie were shrewdly hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recovered their bote, and caused all the soldiors to be transported; they themselves being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, fled afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and take aduise for the choise of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Delham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundae being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and took his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancelor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancelor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of his maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knight-hood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of arie countie, nance and calling, persuaading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the young lord Gerald some and here to the earle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Packworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the hyde seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall cie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepared to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancelor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to his maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie toward, against the rebels: who had also in commission to vnter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon his maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the earle of Kildare to defend the borders northwards and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three hands latelie come from Berwik, vnder the leading of capteine Malher, capteine Case, and capteine Wikeham: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Peile a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a most tall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for restoring ech one to the other the preies, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cashell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the fourte and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limericke. And from this towne he rode to Limericke, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volie of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull manner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Ulrike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Ulrike, and with most pestilent reasons persuaaded him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from her husband, with letters of his husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to vse but delays, took aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The knight of the ballie his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the ballie a rebell.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew seruice at Adare.

Sir William Delham chosen to be lord iustice.

1579

Sir William Delham ha-ving taken the sword, dubbed the lord chancelor knight.

The earle of Desmond required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards. The earle to deliuer one of his castles.

The earle of Desmond required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards. The earle to deliuer one of his castles.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The lord iustice kept sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond was the greatest of upper Ossorie reconciled and made friend.

The earle of Desmond sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice receiued him into Limericke.

Doctor Sanders was dubbed letters to Ulrike Burke.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmond better taken and daue.

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what deo, and deli mor

what was best to do. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go unto him, and to conferre with him upon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him unto the said Desmond, and to require his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe as followeth.

**I**st, that he should deliuer unto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and maintained by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofolle or Acketten, for the pledge of his god behauiour: which upon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his dissolutive greatlie suspected.

That he do forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he do forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioune with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errours past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crough the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delais, requiring restitution for old wrongs and iniuries, and insisting himselfe to be a good subiect, though he do not yeld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parley, the lord iustice was removed to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capitaine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice removed from Crome to Rathkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish thre or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustificication to be a good subiect, he daileie accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaie of time could auaille with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Rathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons articulated.

**T**hat the erle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturallic the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he praactised to bring in strangers, and praactised with forein princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered and mainteined doctor Sanders, James Fitzmorris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the utter shels of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reprimond or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smerwicke had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Durye, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him, by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Wingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appere by a note found in the pozt mantion of doctor Allen lately slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath let at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Gufface, Simon Wizan, and others the quenes subjects, for whom he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorously in the fields, did assaile sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath bitterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means vsed and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which do daileie accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daileie looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foreiners, & daileie solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to ioune with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the

The Earle of Desmond the generall of Mounster.

Mr Warham sentier ad pponit arhall of Mounster.

The lord iustice muchie & vnto Mounster. The lord hancelor out into England.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Rathkille.

The earle of Desmond and the quon of Mounster reconciled and made friends.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honorablie receiued into Mounster.

Doctor Sanders wicked letters to Sirlike Burke.

The earle of Desmond is required to answer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

The earle of Desmond is sent to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice is sent to the lord hancelor.

The earle of Desmond is sent to the lord iustice.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming.

The earle of Desmond is sent to the lord iustice.

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, vnlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Dymond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limericke, and other principall townes to be in like order proclaimed. Immediately and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice remoued to Doole Brian, whereupon the third of November he took a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the earle of Dymond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which compaignie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Abare. And then he remoued and took his iourneie vnto Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of Dymond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able any longer to shew his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourable: for verie shortly after, without deniall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and took it, and there remained about fife daies, rising and carrying auaie the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Liffinen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Poughall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Poughall.

The ordinarces recovered from the rebels.

White, captaine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Dymond maketh a robe into Connello, & killeth a number of the rebels.

The earle of Dymond, as soon as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the captaine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. As soon as he was come to the wals of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recovered from the rebels certaine ordinarces of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the senehall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashly than consideratie, gaue the charge and onset vpon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handful to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaid, and there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his compaignie recover their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slackening his businesse, did assemble and muster all his compaignie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furle, and others, made a iourneie into Connello, which was then the chiefe place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for vittells and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiours were seized in the townes and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for any such guests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narrowly. This piece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Spac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certaine passe, he met with the feneshall, vpon whome he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantly, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the feneshalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whome capteine Zouches trumpeter was one; which so grieved the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Liffinen, which in any waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of any of his friends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

From this he took his iourneie towards Cork, and in his waie at Dunsenning he took a price of one thousand five hundred kine or colwes, which were all by then and sent vnto Cork, at which citie as soon as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capitaine he diuided and bestowed his compaignie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furle, he went to Castell, and by the waie he took the maiors of Poughall, whome forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yield vnto the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, saving one frier, whome he spared, because he had fetched the corpse of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had carted it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancel of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittie the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the rebuilding of the wals and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and oportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capitaine for some speciall seruice, and remembering that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agreed betwene his lordship and the capitaine, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their valour: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thereto.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good espials abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a compaignie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselves saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed over the water, thinking to recouer the woods

The earle of Desmond is taken.

The earle of Desmond is taken in arms.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Dymond.

Liffinen in the campe.

The method of Poughall was good before he came to the towne.

The towne of Poughall all desolate.

The inhabitants of the towne were drawn home to dwell and inhabit the towne.

The William Winter garrisoned the towne.

The Spaniards were lying in Strangicallie, looking for the lord and his army.

The William Winter kept the towne.

and so to  
ham  
captain  
pantes  
the end  
part of  
gouern  
Abare,  
was ab  
uice v  
some tr  
was bu  
late in  
vpon al  
and ga  
the gat  
the mol  
their su  
and th  
that th  
was d  
The  
laie at  
Dowd  
of the  
sons, b  
ward; l  
but wa  
the for  
monest  
himself  
house o  
was aq  
sicknes  
the hea  
hundr  
as dea  
but pe  
for the  
came i  
ation.  
lordly  
deeth  
himse  
he app  
they i  
parts  
went  
the  
all th  
thou  
gotes  
out n  
whole  
were  
vittell  
or to  
them  
adome  
quer  
ued a  
their  
der h  
the f  
thes  
that  
they  
the n  
ple  
Spe  
atte  
hist  
cert

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanley, capitaine Zouch, capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Piers, capitaine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerly follow and pursue them, that in the end they overtake them, and slue all or the most part of them, and so take the castell, wherein the lord governour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abode, the garrison minding to do some service upon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and upon an aduantage he gaue the onset upon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were enforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staves to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The like service did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capitains in their severall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord governour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the for most, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Wotenant a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of service was appointed them to be done: but suddennlie such a sickness came among the souldiers which took them in the head, that at one instant there were aboue three hundred of them sicke, and for three daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sicknesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle corruption. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of service, diuided his companie into two parts, the one he took himselfe, and took the waie by the Island; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and disubed their companies into three parts, & so marched to Dingle a cuse. And as they went they drave the whole countrie before them vnto the Wentrice, & by that means they preyed and took all the cattell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand hinde, besides horses, garrons, sheepe, and goates, and all such people as they met they did with out mercie put to the sword. By these means the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor hinde left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die under the sword. Nevertheless, manie of them understanding that sir William Mallop vice-admirall of England was newlie arrived with the quenes ships at the Wentrice, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat preiudiciall to his maiesties service: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had folowed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William, vice-admirall of England, upon the newes reported to his maiestie that a new supplye was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to do his best service vpon them. Who when he had so done certaine moneths, his vittels wared scant; and see-

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leaving the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Wertoike bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thence he travelled by Iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honozable receiued. And to the end to encourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certaine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newly set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

### The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

**W**HEREAS It is, that no writ of *Sub pena* shall be awarded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient surties before the lord chancelor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be created in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue used to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buye anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne doe vse anie vndecent & irreuerent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall enjoy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, franchises, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Wleigethe*.

That no dead bodis shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and haven, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time doe take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all unferuicable people in time of service be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

The lord iustice with the Wertoike bands goeth into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honozable receiued into Gallewaie.

the erle of Desmond is driven an armie

The erle of Desmond is driven an armie

The erle of Desmond is driven an armie

The erle of Desmond is driven an armie

the erle of Desmond is driven an armie

the erle of Desmond is driven an armie

the erle of Desmond is driven an armie

The erle of Desmond is driven an armie

The erle of Desmond is driven an armie

the erle of Desmond is driven an armie



William Po-  
rre newlie  
came out of  
England  
metheth the  
lord iustice.

Captaine  
Poire sent  
to the  
Pewrie.

Sir Henrie  
Harington to  
made sent  
shall of the  
Dunnes.

The proud  
letters of the  
earle of Des-  
mond.

The lord ius-  
tice entred a  
new iourneie  
into Poun-  
sifer.

The lord ius-  
tice keepeth  
sessions at  
Waterford.

The lord ius-  
tice received  
honourable  
into water-  
ford.

From thence his lordship by sundrie iourneies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the cite, William Poire newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well boyled with English getelings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the cite, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the Pewrie, where he died verie shortly after upon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleen corrupted, and his bryaine milt with filthie matter. His hands were diuided and deliuered to either captaine. And immediatlie upon his entrance into the cite, he sent for Jaques Wlingfield master of the ordnance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord iustice into Pounisfer as he was commanded; but upon his submission after foure daies he was released. And upon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-shall of the Dunnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of December 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore perswaded the lord iustice to come with them.

The lord iustice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernment of the erle of Kilbare, he made a new iourneie into Pounisfer, and departed out of Dublin the eightieth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his iourneies along by the sea coasts, and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Linneterne in his waie he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Ballishecke in certeine botes vertie well appointed by the maior of the cite. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and captaine George Carew, and captaine Piers, issued out of the cite with their foure bands, and nere to the thore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a tollie skirmish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and curtains of the cite were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the hauen, and a great ranke of chambers upon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maior and aldermen araid in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented unto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered unto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie upon two feuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made unto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this cite the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Poiregan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungarmon and Boghall. Whereupon one hundred horsemen vnder captaine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, captaine George Carew, & captaine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble daile increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offences did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not worth ten pounds in goods; also that vpon good causes he maie pacie and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & surdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and theues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man do deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he do euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offences and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are compiled in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he remoured and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the fiftieth of Februarie 1579, and from thence he went by iourneies vnto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the next morning ouer the bydige of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amended the bydige which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connello, where the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilcolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto captaine Fenton, coming from Limerike with five horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the garison at Adare, he was set vpon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge fiftene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the captaine vnder them, and Guldron, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slue their leader, with five or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horsemen.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that

The arrival  
of a commission  
for the mar-  
shall law.

The baron of  
Desmond sub-  
mitted him-  
self.

The castle of  
Carigfoile  
was besieged.

The chanc-  
lor of Limer-  
ike sent  
word for  
treason.

The bishop  
committed  
prisoner vnto  
his owne house.

The proud  
words of the  
Spaniards.

Nicholas  
Parker lieutenant  
vnto captaine  
Fenton was  
slaine.

The castle  
was battered  
with shot.

that day  
but all to  
a souldier  
the Iern  
compelle  
campe: I  
cut off an  
ing, beir  
the earle  
panies b  
iustice te  
other no  
woods, b  
foure hu  
with all

And  
daies ser  
themsel  
vntill it  
together  
Desmond  
brought  
humble  
his lord  
seruice I  
great ti  
spreat  
rigofoll  
the gre  
garded  
deth in  
bannes  
and sto  
ped, the  
could, t  
might c  
of the  
captain  
and to  
ards he  
them, a  
with hi  
shot. W  
ned th  
plante  
wise th

In t  
others  
quest c  
keepin  
rie noi  
on, he  
out an  
again  
it for  
furthe  
died b  
ther b  
the th  
yes as  
Span  
shot  
sould  
Wal  
trem  
reth,  
with  
Alon  
they  
nona  
shot  
the d  
be ad

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshalls encountered with two lussie harnes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellows. The next daie following, being the twelfth of March, the lord iustice and the earle divided their armie into two severall companies by two ensignes and three together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Sleibougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the castell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies service, they did likewise the next daie divide themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerne came to the earle of Desmond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble manner yielded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion, promising and presenting his service with all dutifullness. And then, when after great travels they had marvellously wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofole, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the river, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuolued with the said floods and flowing waters. As soon as they were incamped, the lord iustice approached the castell so nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordingly he might consider the most fittest places for the laing of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this service. Now the Spaniards having espyed them, spent manie shot upon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship upon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

In the same were sixtene Spaniards and fiftie others under one Iulio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond undertooke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable engineer: & standing upon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against his maiestie; declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, untill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was daily looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be unladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldior of sir George Bouchiers, one of sir Henrie Mallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. As soon as the ordinance was unladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditch: by means whereof the same became to be assaultable.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the utter bannie by a doore that the souldiors had broken, and was master of it presently. The Spaniards thereupon retired to a turret that was upon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselves, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recovered the possession of the whole, and did put fittie to the sword, of which nine teene were found to be Spaniards; and six others he toke, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saved that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordnances were removed and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiors as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefeest forts thus recovered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Alketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Desmond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Alketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had done to this fort of Carigofole. Where when they came, the two lords divided themselves, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and upon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbey, and the earle of Desmond upon the further side of the river.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place any watch or ward nere to the castell, by reason of the great disadvantage of the rockes which laie altogether upon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege unto the castell of Ballisloghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was guarded until this time against his maiestie. The ward had no longer the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were overtaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Alketten, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofole, and doubting the sequelle of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretly about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained untouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

This castell thus recovered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Hounster which was wasted against his maiestie: but all were now at his deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Alketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Mallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbey, and so upon the first of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went unto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the river, that the boats might passe freely to and fro. At his coming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Desmond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the count

Capteine Macworth first entered the castell.

The castell of Carigofole is taken.

The dragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Alketten appointed to be besieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballisloghan.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Alketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

The castell of Alketten is taken.

A ward placed at Alketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrison cell

The articles of a commission in the marshes.

The baron of Lerne submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion.

The castell of Carigofole was besieged.

The chamberlain of Limerike sent the sword for recreation.

Calophin, a friend of Carew, was the first to enter the castell.

The castell was besieged.

The bishop committed prisoners to his owne house.

The ground was the same.

Nicholas Parker verie valiantly defended himselfe.

The castell was besieged.

are sent to  
their places  
appointed.

cell which had followed in this journey rode to Dub-  
lin: and sir Nicholas Spalbie departed into Con-  
nagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of  
the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the  
services of euerie of them neuer abated. For al-  
waies as the time of service required, the Irishmen  
were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the  
twoit side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an oc-  
casion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water,  
and capteine Case went by land, and after a time  
spent in searching the woods, they returned with a  
preie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and  
good berie store of sheepe, besides the slaughter of  
manie traitors.

A commission  
to create sir  
William  
Burke to be  
baron.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike,  
vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued his maiesties  
commission vnder the broad seale of England to be  
lord iustice (where before he held the same by the e-  
lection and order of the counsell) and therewith also  
one other commission, for creating of sir William  
Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie  
pension of one hundred markes during his life.  
And from this time, the lord iustice spent this sum-  
mer in Shounser, travelling to and fro through out  
the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other  
capteine in his feuerall garrison doing such service  
vpon the rebels as occasion by was offered. The lord  
iustice vpon the fifteenth of June, after that he had  
marched a few miles in Mac Aulles countrie, spoi-  
ling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed  
through the boggie mountaine of Slewlongher in-  
to Kerrie, and there he discovered a great preie of  
the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the vobward  
of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke a-  
bout two thousand kine, besides store of sheepe and  
garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell.

The earle of  
Desmond and  
his wife and  
doctor San-  
ders in peril  
to be taken.

A mutinie a-  
mong the foun-  
dors for lacke  
of vittells.

Sir Cormac  
Mac Teige  
dath a pece of  
service vpon  
sir James of  
Desmond.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and  
doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, esca-  
ped herie hardlie; and their priest for half was faine  
to leaue his gowne behind. The like service he did  
the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at  
Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie  
began amongst the souldiours vnder sir George  
Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dow-  
dall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with  
such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that  
they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir  
Cormac Mac Teige shiriffe of the countie of Cork  
did notable service vpon sir James of Desmond;  
which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a  
roade into Spuskroie, and toke a great preie from  
the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother  
Donnell adembled his brothers tenants and coun-  
trie and followed the preie, and recouered the same:  
sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonour  
and reproch to depart with any thing which he had in  
hand, withstanding the matter.

Sir James  
of Desmond in  
taking of a  
preie is taken  
prisoner and  
executed.

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which con-  
flict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselfe so  
valliantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the  
matter, that the preie was recouered, and sir James  
himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and  
all his force, being about a hundred and fiftie per-  
sons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke  
him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who  
forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of cer-  
teine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secret-  
lie hid him in a certaine bush in the fastnesse there,  
and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not es-  
cape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was  
gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cor-  
mac his master, who kept him in safe custodie, un-  
till, by letters of commandement from the lord ius-  
tice and counsell, he did deliuer him vnto sir

ham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to cap-  
teine Raleigh; who (according to a commission  
like order to them addressed) was examined, indi-  
cated, arraigned, and then vpon iudgement giuen,  
hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quar-  
tered, it was together with the head set on the tollene  
gates of the citie of Cork, and made the preie of the  
fooles. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an o-  
ther of his heads.

This service of this knight was maruellouslie  
well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and  
counsell, and then from his maiestie he receiued ve-  
rie frendlie and faithfull letters. This man was a  
pounger house vnto Mac Artie Kicough, and they  
both a pounger house vnto Mac Artie Kicough now  
earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said)  
were kings before the conquest of Shounser. They  
are all men of great power, and greatlie este-  
med in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in du-  
tie and obedience to his maiestie and his lawes,  
and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth  
all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in  
that land. For albeit a more Irish gentleman can  
hardly digest any Englishman or English govern-  
ment, and whatsoeuer his outward appearance be,  
his inward affection is corrupt and naught, being  
not unlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had  
transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made her a  
noble princeesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could  
not forbear to snatch at him: and as the ape, though  
he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will  
still be an ape: this knight, after he did once yield  
himselfe to his maiesties obedience, and had profes-  
sed his loialtie, he neuer desired to iointe himselfe vnto  
the companie of the Englishmen, and became in  
time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued  
according to his maiesties lawes, and did so good  
service at all times when it was requist and requi-  
red, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if  
at any time he were had in suspicion, he would by  
some kind of service purge & acquite himselfe, euen  
as he did in this present service in taking of sir  
James of Desmond, to his great praise & commen-  
dation, and to his acquittall against the reprochfull  
reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitz-  
williams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a  
verie good triall of his fidelitie, trust, and good ser-  
vice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and  
made him shiriffe of the countie of Cork: euen as  
the lord iustice now did commend this his service  
vnto his maiestie by his letters of the twelue of Au-  
gust, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and prai-  
eng that the same might be so acceptablie receiued,  
as that the enobling of him might be both an or-  
nament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to  
do the like, and a testimonie against others of his  
loft, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at  
greater aduantages) to haue done the like serui-  
ces.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quar-  
tering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaye the earle  
himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor San-  
ders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the  
continuall perfecting of the rebels, who could haue  
no breath nor rest to relæue themselves, but were  
alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued;  
and by reason the haruett was taken from them,  
their cattels in great numbers preied from them,  
and the whole countrie spoiled and preied; the poore  
people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by  
their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would  
follow after the goods which were thus taken from  
them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and chil-  
dren, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer  
the

the famir  
this grea  
the earle  
ther of th  
guiltie.  
from pla  
saying no  
the lord i  
waled fi  
and their  
requeste  
submitt  
Sir

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

the date of  
counsell  
Desmond.

Sir James  
of Desmond  
sent to Sir  
Warham  
Sentry  
a to captaine  
Raleigh, and  
was executed  
to death.

the date of  
the counsell  
of Desmond.

the John of  
Desmond  
and to  
come with the  
counsell of  
Desmond.

the John of  
Desmond  
and to  
come with the  
counsell of  
Desmond.

Chapter 10

The faulthe  
of Sir Cap-  
taine Adams  
Cecile.

Sir Cormac  
of the Cop-  
pice made knight.

the date of  
the counsell  
of Desmond.

the date of  
the counsell  
of Desmond.

the date of  
the counsell  
of Desmond.

The miserie  
of the people.

the

the famine wherewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that where of they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fled from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeking no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewailed the miserable estate of his husband, his selfe, and their followes, making (with most lamentable request) sute, that his husband might be taken to submission.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distress, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the adventure, to passe for their refuge to the vicount of Balinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to doe some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they took two, the one being a srier named James Haie and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slain, and the srier was reserved, but sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their tourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcastell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Alketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall peece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they took their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother bewailed the matter, and yet for haile they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Fewer thelesse, they took two pzeles, the one of fiftene and the other of eigh- 40 tene kine; and the next daie they took another pzele of two hundred kine, such diuerse traitors, and took two sriers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poze bare footed sriers, and he a lustie boyrman: and then his lordship returned to Alketten, where he left master Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by master Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dub- 50 lin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the counsell at Limerike, he appointed sir George Bourcher colonell of all Mounster, and instructions were deli- uered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Mounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourscore and fiftene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Alketwell he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Sentryler, and the earle of Lincar. And these & other like things done, he took his tourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourscore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the counsell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arri- uall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the vicount of Balinglasse, and Theon mache Hugh, the chiefe of his ser of the Obzins, were lying in the Obzins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of captaine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the begin- ning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obzins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a sub- 10 text, or his owne credit, most traitorously reuolteth from his lawfull prince, and comineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against his maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) without anie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, be- cause they would be persuaded, and were most wil- 20 ling to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped the- selves in the fastnes of the Ginnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cat- tell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possi- ble might be: for in it is a vallie or a combe lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene 30 two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and asperie rocks, verie hard and enill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hills, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish serui- ces, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so nere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolved himselfe to haue a peece of seruice to be done vpon them. Where- fore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the 40 said Ginnes, & giveth order to sir William Stan- leie, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Wagnoll, captaine Atwelle, and to John Parker, lieutenant to cap- taine Furke with all their footmen, and to Francis Cosbie captaine of the kerne, and George Moore an old veteran of Berwikke, colonell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cosbie, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his com- 50 panie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said ser- uice, and vpon the next daie, being the five & twen- tith of August, they entered the Ginnes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Wlingfield, captaine George Carew, captaine Denie, and others on horsebacke staid vpon the mounteine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiralde, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he be- 60 stolneth and placeth all his men with their paces amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, until the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduan- tage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie as- saileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the bolward, both captains and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despair to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the numbnesse of the traitors, and their skill of ser- uice in such places, that they were like to haue bene 70 killed;

The vicount  
of Baling-  
lasse lieth in  
the Ginnes  
with the re-  
bels.

The strength  
of the fastnesse  
in the Ginnes

A seruice ap-  
pointed to be  
done against  
the Obzins.

The lord dea-  
putie staid  
vpon the  
mountaine.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose coming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men slaine in the Gunnes.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Jaques Wingfield his wife slaine towards his nephews.

In this conflict, George Poze, capteine Audleie, Francis Colbie, and sir Peter Carew cozynell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and enforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, and the most part of them would haue saved him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, as sone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, perswaded with his two nephews, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to stae and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his uncle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meane he was by Gods goodnesse saved and preserved.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leave their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and pursueth them to the foile.

The company of the Spaniards not above seven score.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a gréuous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patientlie as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the coming of the lord insire; who as sone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was squire, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, letteth all his companies in battell arae, and so marcheth forwards in his strength, and verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euerie man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselves, and forsooke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irishmen, they remoued themselves from thence to Glanmire, whome the gouernor pursued, and ouertooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and slayned with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanmire, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mounteines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done any further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

As sone as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not above seven hundred men: but had brought with them pikes, caluiers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for five thousand men: because they knew

that the Irishmen were of bodies sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; and in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe: he arrived, and how that they were interteined: requesting that the supplie appointed before their coming from home, might with all speed be sent awaie, and so which they did dailie loke: because it was throughlie concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, to make a thorough conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentie as time should serue, to do the like with England. And moreover, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, and to doctor Sanders the popes nuncio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned and gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Jeters, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had any shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his toles, can do any thing in his profession: no more can the souldiour fight without his meate weapons, nor serue without his necessaries: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was obliged to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of three score men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his capteins, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more haustie than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annioie the enimie, nor perswade at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by tourneies he came to Keshell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded by all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Macmorris, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staid behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever any English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lying, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the coming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there

toke their curttie, and toke it carried and stied of halfe with it, so that they reined well and so con his owne to their de

The lord deputie was slain by the fort, and be- together it.

The fort is abandoned.

The misfortune of the fort.

The Spaniards make a sallie upon the Englishmen.

The diligent service of the warriors.

The fort is better upon the hand side.

for as he am William I and: but rall capte Marten Williams means of all thir liam Williams assault ring of it do, by in his in by the fort some from realme t who was church of become f ther rep: in that v what the sent to f with hi they we stranger and mu batterie ned hou ting of some ad men: f Denie Michae these so thlie fo ards w againe Willia twene binoden dinanc in the great l thought did in a their o the pla before be giue dered) lord de land si low th shot of ele if d what u they t what t ter the



toke their pleasure; who when they were in their courtie, the captaine and his men came vpon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they used in sted of batteris: and being demanded what he would doe with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vpon English churles: for so they call Englishmen. As it so (quoth the captaine) well, they shall not serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged vpon with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their desert.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also returned from out of England: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadmirall captaine Wingham came into the baie of Saint George weeke or Smereweeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before any assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doe, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land, & required therewith to yeeld vpon the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therefore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Wherevpon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossession of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and laid for the batterie; and betwene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some advantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by captaine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michael Butler lieutenant to captaine Raleigh: & these so ballantlie behaved themselves, and so worke followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betwene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be vnloaden certeine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of his maiesties ships, which then lay in the rode of Smereweeke, and then there being a great banke betwene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was ready to be giuen. A pece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worthe great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a pece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercede if they would yeeld. But they knowing nothing that was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Wherevpon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterie was captaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their bags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done; but onelic the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was captaine Roches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentleman named John Cheke, who drew so nere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being scene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a pece at him; & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterie were draiue and brought so nere vnto the fort, that now they left to ballie any longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staid themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and seeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parlie with the lord deputie, who offerie denied it: sauing, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parlours are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. When they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. When they requested that certeine particular men among themselves might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yeelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile any waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Miser cordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeeld both themselves and the fort, without any condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent captaine Jaques Winghamfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and vnfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued sir, and forthwith the captaine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yeelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Winghamfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doe the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laid their pikes acrosse vpon the same. Which being done, the said captaine Winghamfield came out of the fort, and brought the captaine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Winghamfield to returne againe to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgiral knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the erle of Desmond, and one Blunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the captaine had yeelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, captaine Raleigh together with captaine Spacworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cleere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what pleased.

John Cheke is slaine.

The fort is battered on euerie side.

The Spaniards desire a parlie.

Captaine Winghamfield is sent to the lord.

The prisoners in the fort are executed.

sed him, his lordship returned, and manie of the capitaine he saved. The fort forthwith was raised, the arms and munitions were dispersed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the colonell and campeimaster ouer into England by capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordship went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or five castles, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

Capteine Berkeley came into Ireland, and laid at Asketten.

Connagh, Leinster and Mounster are all by in rebellion.

The earle of Desmond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The cleargies bind doe arie into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

And here the earle of Desmond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so required. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernour of Kerrie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Cally, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hence his lordship went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentieth of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred & eighty. At which time there arrived out of England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Berkeley, capteine Cruise, capteine Herd, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordship bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkeley one, lie of the capitaine remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Asketten, the chiefe castle of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now upon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselves, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet see how that the venemous Hynda had no sooner lost one of his heads, but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are springing up. For at the verie instant, the bastardlie bray of the earle Clanricard, the vicount of Balinglasse, associated with the O'Byns, O'moyes, and Keenoughs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are by in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great peere of Leinster are in arms and actual rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quiet.

The lord deputie being at this present in Limerike, & aduertised of these troubles, setteth all things in order for the seruice in Mounster, and committed the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the earle of Desmond, and then he returned vnto Dublin, where he took order for Connagh & Leinster. And about this time there arrived out of England 150 horsemen set out at the charges of the cleargie of England, vnder the leadings of William Russell some to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian Fitzwilliams, which were dispersed according to the seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Dublin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be partakers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and they were committed to ward vnder the custodie of Iaquess Willingfield maister of the ordinance. Immediately vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Henrie Fitzgiralde, sonne and heire to the said earle, and of the age about seauenteene yeares, being perswaded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into

Dhalla thereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Deonhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he considered that this was but a furnished and colorable kind of dealing, to blear his lordships eyes; wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the young lord was willing to come, but the Deonhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vntill they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disorderd dealings, sent the earle of Desmond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Deonhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White maister of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Sparworth, and sundrie other capitaine and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Dhalla; whence after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the young lord. Whereafterwards the Deonhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Husten and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, even as the earle of Desmond had partly threatened them; and doubting also least the staying of the sonne might be prejudiciall to the father, then in all hast did send the young lord to the earle of Desmond, who caried him to Dublin, and delivered him to the lord deputie: and his lordship forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his ancestors.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Coke, and nothing liking the outrages, bodzages, and villanies daily practised by Barrie, Conden, and others vpon the good subiects and his maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene made, and small redresse had, he robe himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that vntill they were proclaimed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the event thereof would be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subiects, & to the incuragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a brighth, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seise and enter vpon the castle and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done therein, he had certaine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: whereupon he returned. But before he was come backe to Coke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delates were used to hinder the good seruice proposed, that his commission auailed him verie little; so nothing, for the castle of Barrie was committed

The earle of Desmond is kept by the Deonhours.

Capteine Raleigh is sent for by the seneschall.

The earle of Desmond is sent for the young lord Fitzgiralde.

The seneschall followeth capteine Raleigh.

The distressed state of Henrie Fitzgiralde.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne are some while in England, as he caried in London.

Capteine Raleigh cometh on board the shipmen of the reade.

The commandment of the seneschall.

Capteine Raleigh hath a commission, & the enlargement of his commission to pursue the enemy.

David lord Barrie burneth his owne house.

mitted and dell the said David his sonne: and said castle being the whole countie ragious than his returne into the sene countie he to haue intrapet lieng at a fozt ouer with sir thaine little miscompartie on horsebacke, a fall and dangerous god guide Edmunds of knew cuerie places.

The capte seneschall had ting scattered him, and crossed, but yet huer. The first the capteine he thified for: fast by, there thus ouer the bout a bowe when he was dzed and cast seneschalls in killed him, or same his life: selfe was in him and his hast to leape cie, that he quite fast by taken by the skaid still, adue of his ce were not co had about t him, and saluing his sta in the other followed hi and carrie a standing hi of great set of twelve him; yet r twentie to onelie raile his men be him, and tted.

It hap parles appon rebels; at much vpon present beg for the ear his doe, to him. Where men stand daie a coir gaine, if thie great for his bal mond hea

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The young  
lord is sent  
for the earle  
of Dymond.

The earle of  
Dymond and  
his sonne and  
some of his  
men went into  
England.  
The earle of  
Dymond is  
in London.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

The earle of  
Dymond was  
sent for the  
young lord  
of the castle.

mitted and delivered to the custody of the mother of  
the said David Barrie, and by her set over unto him  
his sonne: and the forthwith burned and defaced the  
said castell being his principall house, as also wasted  
the whole countrey, and became moze woofe and out-  
ragious than he was before. This capitaine making  
his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne  
unto the seneschall of Imokelle, through whose  
countrie he was to passe, laid in ambush for him to  
have intrapped him betwene Doughtall and Cozke,  
lieng at a foze, which the said capitaine must passe  
over with his horsemen, and certene herne. The cap-  
taine little mistrusting anye such matter, had in his  
companye onely two horsemen and foure shot on  
horsebacke, which was so small a force in so doubt-  
full and dangerous times: nevertheless he had a ve-  
rie good guide, which was the servant of John Fitz-  
edmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide  
knew euery corner and barting hole in those  
places.

The capitaine being come towards the foze, the  
seneschall had espied him alone, his companye be-  
ing scattered behind, and verie fiercely pursued  
him, and crossed him as he was to ride over the wa-  
ter, but yet he recovered the foze and was passed o-  
uer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw  
the capitaine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed,  
he thought for himselfe and fled into a broken castell  
fast by, there to saue himselfe. The capitaine being  
thus over the water, Henrie Poole, riding alone a-  
bout a bowes shot before the rest of his companye,  
when he was in the middle of the foze, his horse found-  
ered and cast him downe; and being afraid that the  
seneschalls men would haue followed him and haue  
killed him, cried out to the capitaine to come and to  
saue his life; who not respecting the danger he him-  
selfe was in, came unto him, and recovered both  
him and his horse. And then Poole coueting with all  
hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and vehemen-  
cie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a  
mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was  
taken by the enimie. The capitaine neuertheless  
staid still, and did abide for the coming of the rest  
due of his companye, of the foure shot which as yet  
were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who  
had about two hundred pounds in monie about  
him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, ha-  
uing his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged  
in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercely  
followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand  
and tarry as it were for his coming, notwithstanding  
he was counted a man (as he was indeed)  
of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie  
of twelve horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto  
him; yet neither he nor anye one of them, being  
tuentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but  
onely tailed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill  
his men behind had recovered and were come vnto  
him, and then without anye further harme depar-  
ted.

It happened that not long after, there was a  
parle appointed betwene the lord gouernour and the  
rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood  
much vpon his reputation. Capitaine Raleigh being  
present began to charge him of his cowardnesse be-  
fore the earle of Dymond, that he being twentie of  
his koe, to him alone, durst not to incounter with  
him: Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his  
men standing by, said; that his maister was that  
daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull a  
gaue, if the like seruice were to be done, and in ma-  
nie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall  
for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Dy-  
mond hearing those great speeches, took the matter

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and  
sir John of Desmond there present, and three or foure  
others, the best they could chose, would appoint to  
meet him; capitaine Raleigh, and such foure others  
as they would bring with them, they would come to  
the same place, and passe over the great river vnto  
them, and would there fight for two, some for foure,  
or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them;  
but no answer was then giuen: ther vpon the white  
knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this cha-  
lenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this,  
there were speeches made, that the earle of Dymond  
was to depart from this long and wearie seruice  
into England, & capitaine Zouch should in his place  
be the generall, betwene the remouing of the one,  
and the placing of the other, sir William Morgan,  
capitaine Raleigh, and capitaine Piers had a com-  
mission to be gouernours of that part of Munster,  
where they spent all that summer, and laie for the  
most part at Lismore, and in the countrey and  
woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the  
enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportu-  
nitie serued.

And when the summer was spent, capitaine Ra-  
leigh returned with all his band vnto Cozke, being  
in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen.  
And as he passed through the countrey, it was ad-  
uertised to him, that David Barrie an archtraitor  
was at Cloue with a great troupe of sundrie hun-  
dreds of men. Wherevpon he thought good to passe  
that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to  
trie the valor of David Barrie, if by anye means  
he might meet with him. And euen at the verie  
towns end he found Barrie and all his companye,  
and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him.  
But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this cap-  
taine passing from thence, in his sonne he espied  
in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a compa-  
nie of footmen by themselves, vpon whom with  
his horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being  
cut off from the wood wherevnto they were fled,  
and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue them-  
selues, they turned backe, & conioining the misset  
together to withstand this force and onset made vpon  
them, in which they behaued themselves verie va-  
liantlie, and of the horses they killed five, of which  
capitaine Raleigh his horse was one, and he him-  
selfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine,  
if his trustie servant Nicholas Wright a Irish  
man borne had not bin. For he perceiuing that his  
maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart,  
and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was  
past seruice; the said Nicholas killed and called to  
an Irishman there, whose name was Patrick Fa-  
gaw, that he should looke to his capitaine, and either  
to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie.  
Wherevpon the said Fagaw rescued his capitaine,  
& the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the on-  
set vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And  
therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish  
gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the cap-  
taine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in dan-  
ger. For Wright not looking on them followed the  
enimie verie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of  
one with the slaughter of others. Which capitaine  
Raleigh perceiuing cried out to his man, saying;  
Wright, if thou be a man, charge aboute hand & saue  
the gentleman. Who at his maisters commandment  
pressed to the middle of the enimies, and slue one  
of them, and so saued the gentleman: and in which  
skirmish his horse leg was cut vnder him. Where  
foote men were slaine of the enimies, and two were  
taken prisoners, whom they carried with them to  
Cozke.

The chalenge  
made by the  
earle of Dymond  
to the seneschall.

Capitaine Ra-  
leigh a com-  
missioner in  
Munster.

Capitaine Ra-  
leigh followed  
vpon Barrie.

Capitaine Ra-  
leigh in dan-  
ger to be kil-  
led.

The good ser-  
uice of Nicho-  
las Wright.

The lord  
Koch is had in  
suspicion, and  
is sent for.

At his lying in Cork there were sundrie pieces of seruices done by him, all which do verie well deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all others this one point of his seruice deserueth both commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The lord Koch was growen into a suspicion that he was not found of his loialtie. Whereupon capteine Raleigh by commandement was to fetch him and his ladie to Cork vnto the generall. This thing was not so psonally determined, but that the seneschall and Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and minding thereto to take the capteine at some aduantage, they had assembled a great companie of themselves to the number of seven or eight hundred men to haue met with him either coming or going. The capteine perceiuing and forerunning how dangerous his enterpryse was against so noble a man in that countrie as the lord Koch was, who was verie well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his men one and other, both horsemen and footmen, which in the whole were not above foure score and ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of death betwene ten and eleuen of the clocke of the same night. At which time euerie man being in a readinesse, he took his fornicie and marched toward the lord Koches house called Wallie in Harth, which is about twentie miles out of Cork, and came thither somewhat earlie in the morning. At his coming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

Capteine Raleigh cometh to the lord Koches house.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the worst, did arme about five hundred of themselves. Whereupon capteine Raleigh placed and bestowed his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & marched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Michaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Writte, Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Winking Hulth; and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a while there came three or foure of the said lord Koches gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their coming, vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was come to speake with my lord: which was offered he should, so that he would bring with him but two or three of his gentlemen, which the capteine was contented with, yet in the end (but with much adoe) he came in with all these few persons before named. When the capteine was once come within the castell, and had entered into some speeches with the lord Koch, he so handled the matter by deuises and meanes, that by little and little, and by some and some, he had gotten in within the iron doore or gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two bullets. The lord Koch when he saw this, he was suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare: but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the matter, and calling for meat, requested the capteine and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the capteine falling into speeches with the said lord Koch, declared plainlie vnto him the cause of his coming, and shewed that he and his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take and carie them along with him to Cork: which he was to performe, and so would. The lord Koch alleged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, saying in the end that he neither could nor would go: the capteine answered, that if they would not go with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Koch seeing that there was no remedie, he yielded: and then the capteine minding to lose no time, willed him to command and cause all those of the towne, and all such as were about the house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and to set him forth in his fornicie: which he did, and verie willingly shewed himselfe to abide and chere the capteines commandement, saying that he would answer the matter well inough, and discharge what soeuer should be laid to his charge, for he knew himselfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his wife redie to take the fornicie in hand, as the capteine did appoint and command: and towards night they did set forward to Cork. But the night fell out to be verie tempestuous and soule, and therefore was darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet discern one another, and the wates also were so foule, so full of barks, billocks, pits, and rocks, that the souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and incombred, some stumbled among the stones, some plunged into holes, and some by their often falls were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they were among and in the middle of the enemies, who laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the darke night which was cumbersome to themselves, was a shadow to shrowd them from their enemies. And in the end, though with much trouble, they came to Cork in safetie, saving one soldier named John Phelmar, who by his often falling and stumbling among the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in the end consume and rot awaie.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and presented his prisoners to the generall, with no little admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a fornicie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could neuer haue escaped. The lord Koch being brought to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and a good subject, and which in time was well tried and knowen. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons and followers, did attend and performe all such seruices as were laid vpon them; and in which, three of his sonnes were killed by the enemy in his maiesties seruice.

Capteine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Dingle ham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it, howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond and Dauid Barrie was assembled at Aghado with three thousand men; and he being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon them, hezel all his full force of horsemen and footmen vnto Castlemange. And then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Calh, he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before they wist of anie such thing, and slew a great companie of them, and dyane the erle to such a pass, that he in his shirt was dyuen to thist for himselfe, in the middle of his galloluglasses, and by that meane he escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe, sought a better place of safetie, and remoued himselfe to Harlowe town, and passed by the waie to Killmallocke. Which when the garrison there did understand, they pursued and followed him, namelie capteine Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Spakworth, and capteine Morris, three miles together vpon the plains betwene Killmallocke and the wood, and due manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and

Capteine Dowdall went to the erle of Desmond.

The seneschall of the garrison of Killmoye.

The lord Dowdall being taken by the capteine Zouch, gouernour of all Munster.

The lord Dowdall being taken by the seneschall of the garrison of Killmoye.

Capteine Dowdall made a speech vpon the seneschall.

Sir John of Desmond appointed to make a league between Sir John and the seneschall.

The gouernour Zouch and capteine Dowdall made a league.

did enter of Desmond set vpon took from great pr locke to chall can and by on hear and folle incount the pecti flaine. the enim their gr In the yeare o and one ster, as bowing to be g arnes may be account of these things refing late in fornicie beingi merous betw shey to and th the bir his by ing or berie to the noty them Capa Trist all, ne seke migh dawl and li laie i tred i mess and t one him told l Desi a pea the l had l him the e the n at th Det tied not a that vpon teim that and they And seru

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gave the onset upon him, killed a great number of his men, took from them their carriages, and drove away a great price of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Scarcely about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and perceived that countie, and drove away their cattell. Whith when the garison heard, and were advertised thereof, they stood, and followed the prete to recover it, but they were so encountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the prete, and sine and roentes of their men were slaine. Divers skirmishes were baile done upon the enimie, and many fornicies made upon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a fornicie into Spounster, where when he had taken an account of all their bowings and services, he established capitaine Zouch to be governour of all Spounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh into Dublin. This now new governour, being accompanied with capitaine Kaleigh and capitaine Dowball, travelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certaine place of their resting was at Croke, where for the most part they late in garison making in the meane time sundrie fornicies, as occasion of service did require. And they being in Croke, newes was brought unto the governour that there was a great quarrell fallen out betweene Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mostall enimies, and at a deadlie fow; and they late both in Dunstinnen side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother late in Patrike Condons countie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie soie for this quarrell, and would have come in to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

Captaine Dowball upon these newes sent out an Irishman which he had, and who was a notable spirit, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught upon him. This Richard draughting himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lying among them in their cabins where they late in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds unto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse unto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next date following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betweene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Croke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Croke, and at their coming thither, did declare unto capitaine Dowball the whole matter, and he forthwith advertised the same to the governour: who albeit he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some service should be done upon them, and concluded that himselfe and capitaine Dowball should do the same, under the colour that they were to make a fornicie unto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowen of that which they had determined. And having prepared all things necessarie for this service, the same night they left the charge of the ga-

risson unto capitaine Kaleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leave, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by break of the date they came to castell Ltons, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poore man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before: they unto Humacquilliam. The governour and the capitaine being verie eger, and desirous to do some service, they followed the tract of the horse a good prettie while; but the capitaine mistrusting that no good service would be done that waite, persuaded the governour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good service would be done, whose advise the governour followed: and they had ridden but a little waite, but they saw two horsemen come riding toward them, but as soon as they had seene the said governour and capitaine, they returned backe againe.

When the capitaine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his advise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so fast, that they were driven to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose that being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe upon the horsemen, who gave the onset upon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they so hurted with a horsemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongecullie, they took: and both they carried with them to Croke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged by by the heels upon a gibbet, and set upon the north gate of Croke. And James Fitzjohn was alive, hanged, & quartered. And thus have you the third head of the venemous Hydras cut off, who had his lust reward and merit, if not to to god for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholly imbrued in blond and villanie; and in blond he died, and had his reward by Gods iust indgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made upon Dauid Barrie, for the prete which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbery, and passed with the same by Bentrice, where late a garison under the leading of capitaine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captain Jenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the prete, fell in to the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumkager left alive, who by swiftnesse of his foot escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman boyne, and of a good house, and brought up in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliver his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who persuaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being some inticed and persuaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driven to leave the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the province of Spounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such favor, that no Englishman could do more with him than

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged upon a gibbet by the heels.

Captaine Zouch was appointed governour of all Spounster.

Captaine Dowball was appointed to accompany the governour.

The lord deputie made a fornicie into Spounster.

The earle of Desmond and John his brother late in Patrike Condons countie.

Captaine Dowball was appointed to accompany the governour.

Sir John of Desmond was appointed to accompany the governour.

The lord deputie made a fornicie into Spounster.



he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henric Dauels, whome he found rather a father than a friend unto him: and then his behaviour was such, that he grew to be in good favour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernour continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then late in Dunfremmin, he together with capteine Dowball marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some advantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue themselves in some dutifull and redifull order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The gouernour and capteine Dowball spoile and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.

Barrie sueth for a protection

The L. deputie catcheth sundrie bands in Mounster.

Fitzmoris baron of Lerna breaketh into open rebellion. The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernour, who so narrowly watched him, that he alwaies took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his prouision, that he had nothing left to eat. Fitzmoris seruant to Carew lord of Lerna killeth his maister.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernour, one hundred vnder capteine Dowball, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first horsemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garison at Adare in Barrie. When all things (as saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, he hold a new stirre (mid vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subject, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and someth with him his wicked, traitorous, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of O'Don, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and government vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was grown into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was done by the Haenaghys in O'Don in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Devon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he took in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an advantage, slue him, and recovered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of

Leconile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he used this stratagem. He laid verie close & teatle a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wonte, verie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turfes into the ward, that as soon as she was betwene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall her basket and cry out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after her accustomed manner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vpper iron doze, and then he did open the inner doze for her to come in. When she was come betwene the two dozes, she let fall her great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to drave vnto them the vpper iron doze, nor to shut fast the inner doze, the enimie entred, took the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vze other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Donagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldiers would be contented to accept anie courtisie, he procured a young harlot, who was some what snow-white, to go to the castell, pretending some intire to haue bene done to her, and to humble herselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasie of her, and so would reteine her. And by these meanes, she by her cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmoris and her, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betrate the castell. The capteine receiued her into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Leconile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Whereupon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried her vnto the top of the castell and cast her ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, O'Donagh, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there plaid his parts.

The gouernour, who late at Cork, being advertised of these outrages, called his companie together, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrulle) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an intire, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmoris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Cork about thre dates iourneie. The baron by his espials being advertised of their comming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drave his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Leconile. When the gouernour was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbey) greatlie distressed. From thence he went to Leconile, which is ten miles further, where he discoursed the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottom in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglasse, kerne, shot, and horsemen, about fenen hundred men.

The gouernour taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horsemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowball being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the rest

The baron of Lerna flyeth to the hills so highly rugged.

A supplie of two hundred men sent to the gouernour.

Capteine Dowball setteth vpon Fitzmoris in a blinde and surth him the northward.

The baron Fitzmoris with a few is surthpoune his better fall, and forsaken of all his frendes.

The baron being distressed of all helpe, flyeth to the earle of Desmond for a protection.

The gouernour marcheth into Cork to Clanmoris to encounter with Fitzmoris.

The courtie of the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead hath now fteno humbled.

due he referred to the wood, and plains where his companie, and fit fall to his, he diuirt parts, thinking to haue his will vpo and forthwith bzal had such a hand by them. Which his man turned his b teins of bloughl hind, which the ce there, and brought thence they march Oliver Stephan there newes was putie had sent vn which one hundred the other capteine vnto Limerike, mozis, and of the said capteine was incamped: forthe gallowglasse shot, and thirtie then but the lieut made a fallie by and drave into it and recovered a hundred horses of sheepe and go he found store of ments. And fro and incamped by of Clancar his mange, and so to uerie ward and with the goods h time, the baron ston & stone, wa ther to credit m head, but was l ers: and being and distall tre as a foployme m to go, or where

At length I distressed misse O'Donagh, w caughe he had b roughtlie pret and killed his p vnto his lordly seth his follies: fireth his lordly humble requ on. This hono, injuries done and stomach, a so great inuiri Parcere prostrati grates of the fi wrongs, and g Dowball, leau panie at Ada Smith, he ma and late in gar ended, and bet at rest, and the behold the earl be either dead: shew himselfe panie, came to

The baron of Lerna being through all the Englishmen the countie, and taking the quante test.

A stratagem used in the ward of Leconile.

A stratagem at Donagh.

The gouernour marcheth into Cork to Clanmoris to encounter with Fitzmoris.

Capteine Dowball setteth vpon Fitzmoris, and surth him the northward.

due he reserved to himselfe. The capitaine entred into the wood, and followed untill he came into the plains where Fitzmoris was; who having a great companie, and the capitaine but (as it were) a hand full to him, he divided his whole companie into foure parts, thinking to have inclosed the capitaine, and to have his will upon them. The capitaine perceived it, and forthwith brake upon one of the companies, and had such a hand upon them, that he slew a number of them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a valiant man turned his backe and fled awaie into the mountains of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods behind; which the capitaine took, and also all the cattell there, and brought the same to the governour. From thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which Oliver Stephanson had the ward and keeping; and there newes was brought unto him, that the lord deputie had sent unto him two bands of souldiers, of which one hundred were sir Henrie Walllops, and the other capitaine Morris. Where upon he travelled unto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Glanmoris, and of Kierie unto capitaine Dowdall. And the said capitaine being put to wext that the baron was incamped at Glanish with two hundred and fortye galloglasses, two hundred kerne, foure score shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe having then but the lieutenant Wingfield in his companie, made a sallie upon them, and killed with the sword, and brake into the river above seven score of them, and recovered a price of eight hundred kine, five hundred horses and mares, besides a great number of sheepe and goates: and in the taking of the baron, he found store of monie and plate, and massing garments. And from thence he marched with his cattell, and incamped besides Alough, nere unto the earle of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castlemange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went euerie ward and garison with store of vittells, and with the goods he rewarded his souldiers. From this time, the baron Fitzmoris having lost all his provision & store, was neuer able to recover himselfe, neither to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold by his head, but was forsaken of all his friends and followers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad and dishonourable trecheries, walked and wandered abroad as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither to go, or where to seeke for succour and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his distressed miseries, bethinketh upon the earle of Desmond, whome notwithstanding that without cause he had verie much injured, having most outrageously preyed his countries, burned his villages, and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse unto his lordship, acknowledging his fault, confesseth his follies; and being most sozie for the same, desireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most humbly requested him to have under him a protection. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great injuries done unto him, and he of a great courage and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put up so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion, *Parcere possunt*) when he had shewed the great graces of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne wrongs, and granted him his request. Capitaine Dowdall, leaving the governours souldiers and companie at Adare, under the leading of capitaine Smith, he marcheth towards Coke, where he rested and laie in garison. Now when all these broils were ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene at rest, and the whole province of Mounster at peace; behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to shew himselfe; and having assembled a great companie, came to Adare, where the garison issued out

upon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and manye slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith, sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant were both slaine: but yet the English souldiers recovered the abbey. About this time one Thomas Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgiralde, being wearie of the wicked actions which hitherto he had followed among the rebels, sent his messenger to capitaine George Carew, requesting him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon, and for so manie of his companie as would joine with and accompanie him in a piece of service to be done: which he promised to recompense with the price of his capitaine's head, which he would in a bag present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie of his companie as would not content with him thereunto.

When this deale was ready to be practised, the cleark of the band, who was one of the confederates, verie trecherously did discover the same unto Fitzgiralde, who immediately took and hanged his lieutenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Englishman) and so manie of the souldiers as were of that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde being thinking upon the extreame miseries, which in this rebellion he had endured, and the small hope which he had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous actions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldiers: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices, requirung his pardon, and which he would redeme with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes Theon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so couertly done, but that Theon mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he forthwith intreated Fitzgiralde in the like manner as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so hanged him by. The lord deputie after long sute for his renocation, received his maiesties letters for the same, and then he sent for capitaine Zouch gouverneur of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of August 1582, after that he had served full two yeres he deliuered by the sword unto the archbishop of Dublin then lord chancellor, and to sir Henrie Walllop then treasurer at armes, and took shipping; having with him capitaine Zouch, who was after slaine by one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserved well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good seeds of notable services, as well for his martiall services, as for his civill government; yet he reped (as his predecessours before him) but darenell and cockle. For they had among them not one lie conspired his death, for which some paid dearlie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a broken time, the warres being not ended, the people not quieted, and the gouvernement not staid nor settled; yet they both joining their wisdoms, services, and good wills, were so blessed therein, that by them that land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse. For not long after they had taken the sword in hand doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all wickednesse, with James Fitzmoris in Julie in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred sevenie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his maiestie, after that he had wandered by and done

It brought made to kill Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde executed to death for manie as conspired against him.

Fitzgiralde practised the death of Theon mac Hugh.

Fitzgiralde is hanged for his conspiacie.

The lord Greie yieldeth up the sword and returneth into England.

1582 The lord chancellor and sir Henrie walllop are lord iustices.

The baron of Glanmoris, who is the first of the name, and both the names of the

Strategem fed in a way of castle of. Rescued.

Strategem t Donagh.

Supplie of souldiers sent to the governour.

Capitaine Dowdall sent upon Fitzmoris in Glanish and garish him the

The baron Fitzmoris had a fine of his lands, and was to be paid by the king.

The baron of Desmond, who is the first of the name, and both the names of the

The governour marcheth from Coke to Glanmoris, and encountereth with Fitzmoris.

The courtie of the earle of Desmond.

Capitaine Dowdall encerth upon Fitzmoris, and giveth him the sword.

The death of  
Dorothy San-  
ders.

the peaves together with the earle and his brethren  
the John, in woods and bogs, and had lived with them  
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene  
partaker of their most cruell bloudsheds, outrages,  
murthers, and robberies, a life god and too good for a  
traitor and a rebel. He fell sicke of an Irish ague  
and of the bloudie fit, and late in the wood of Glen-  
neliffe, which is a wood full of allers, withies, bylers,  
thornes, and throught which is no passage; where part  
le of his sicknesse, but chafelle for famine and want  
he died. When in this filthy place, that most misera-  
ble wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequea-  
thing his treasons, treacheries, and dissolualties a-  
gainst his Sovereigne mistesse and ladie hir maiestie  
unto the pope, referring the punishment to the Lord  
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge upon all tra-  
tors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some  
saie) was deuoured by of twolues, but (as some do  
thinke) that so much as was left was buried at  
Clancartie, not farre off from the place where he  
died.

The earle of  
Desmond be-  
geth his  
Christmas in  
the woods.  
A draught  
made upon the  
earle by John  
Welsh.

The two lords justices being entred into this bo-  
ken gouvernement, did what they could to keepe the  
same in peace; and understanding the wilfull dispo-  
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and  
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he  
imbued and poisoned with the venom of treason and  
rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other re-  
spect could perswade him to be a loiall and dutifull  
subject. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-  
customed spoiling and wasting the countries, and  
trussing to no house nor castell, did shew himselfe  
in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he  
kept his Christmas in the wood of Kilquieg nere  
to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie  
then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a  
good soldior, was resolved to make a draught upon  
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith  
capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Bangor, and George  
Thozington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which  
late then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according  
to the order betwene them then agreed upon, they  
marched in the night time to the place and wood  
where the earle laie.

A device how  
to passe over a  
great river.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer  
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into  
the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raine  
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to  
passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did be-  
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went  
thither verie close, with such few persons as he  
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a  
number of stakes and hurdels to be made of halson,  
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne  
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose  
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when  
he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the  
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-  
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and  
tie one unto another, and so cunningly handled the  
matter, that when the captains came, they passed o-  
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.  
And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and  
bring them by the breake of the daie unto the earles  
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so  
mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length  
wide from the cabin to come unto it. The earle hea-  
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordina-  
rie and a greater compaignie to be in place more than  
his owne, and doubting the worst, ran out of his bed  
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,  
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by  
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his tosse  
with him. The soldiors made diligent search for him

The earle of  
Desmond be-  
geth his  
Christmas in  
the woods.

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but  
could not find him; whereupon they did put to the  
swoord so manie as they found there, and carried a-  
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Kil-  
mallocke.

At this time the seneeschall secretlie with all the  
foyce which he could make, came unto the towne of  
Doughall, & entred into the end of the same towne.  
Whereupon the alarum was raised; and forthwith  
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capitaine Morgan,  
having all his soldiors together, of which he had for-  
tie that, went unto that end of the towne where the  
seneeschall scaled the walls, & there he made a scote,  
or a little bulwarked; and by that meanes saved the  
towne, and by cause the seneeschall from his purpose,  
and killed about fiftie of his men: and so being dis-  
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the  
end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of De-  
mond arrived from out of England to Waterford  
with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whom he  
divided and committed vnto the severall leadings  
of Sir George Bourcher, Sir William Stanleie, cap-  
taine Edward Berkeley, and capitaine Roberts.  
And being now lord generall by hir maiesties ap-  
pointment ouer all Mounster, and having obtained  
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eue-  
rie soldior's wages, he assembleth all the soldiors  
and euerie capitaine which had anie charge, and toke  
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were  
to be done, furnishesth them with vittels, munition,  
one, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for  
them, requesting euerie one of them to shew them-  
selues like good and ballant soldiors, in the pursuing  
of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enemies: and  
such grace and loue he found among the soldiors,  
that he was no more desirous than they most glad  
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-  
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this time advertisement was given unto his  
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped  
in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number  
of cakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his  
compaignies, and minding to do some seruice upon  
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse  
of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he di-  
videth his compaignies into foure parts, and they ente-  
red into foure severall places of the wood at one in-  
stant: and by that meanes they scotched the wood  
thoroughout, in killing as manie as they toke, but  
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-  
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-  
uer after met together in the like compaignies, nor  
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but  
the most part of them, which were the chiefeest follow-  
ers and greatest friends unto Desmond, as Fitz-  
morris of Lerna before named, the seneeschall, the  
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Inaught, & sun-  
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought  
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit  
outrages, murthers, bloudsheds and spoiles, had  
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship con-  
sidering their repentance, sorowes, and humble sub-  
missions, and respecting more hir maiesties goodlie  
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the  
most part) grant unto euerie of them their requests.  
The soldiors after this pece of seruice were disper-  
sed abroad into their severall garrisons. And albeit  
the greater parts of the rebels were some by swoord,  
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,  
yet none of them late altogether idle, but did follow  
the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the  
earle himselfe, though he were thus vnsundered of  
his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man,  
a most ranke traitor and rebel: and therefore upon him

The sene-  
schall stand-  
eth a watch  
into yongall  
and hath the  
republicke.

The earle of  
Desmond ar-  
rived to wa-  
terford and  
was generall  
of Mounster.

The lord of  
the capmes  
and soldiors  
the earle of  
Desmond.

The lord ge-  
nerall com-  
eth Harlo  
wood.

Desmond is  
sundered of  
his followers  
and friends.

A draught  
made upon the  
gallowglaf-  
es in Harlo  
wood.

The gallow-  
glafes in  
Harlo wood  
put to swoord.

The W. Roch  
husmen dis-  
coveyred  
Desmond.

The De-  
mond is relea-  
sed by Gorton  
mac Swene.

Gorton ap-  
pointed to be  
at the Dingle.

Desmond was  
sundered of  
his followers.

Gorton partly  
at Carberry  
by Desmond.

him dalli  
never left  
In th  
one thou  
advertis  
thell, that  
barbazon  
three sco  
numbers  
officials, in  
to the two  
for these  
to time, I  
their keep  
would no  
but wber  
would rei  
thense go  
they wou  
upon the  
trie, and  
capitaine  
the wood  
ned by hi  
the mour  
where for  
occupied  
vittels to  
upon the  
they were  
which, sit  
After the  
counted  
the restor  
a man  
through  
About  
yeare on  
it hapne  
ing in W  
bout cer  
Desmond  
horses  
said lord  
about; bi  
escaped,  
had hosd  
unto the  
confesse  
was, an  
not be li  
leese an  
capitain  
der prot  
had not  
of Harl  
lord ger  
vittelle  
and for  
paire th  
forthw  
heard h  
tels an  
the two  
should l  
of all o  
from ti  
him.  
helpe a  
Morton  
neto co  
can, an  
stande  
meane

him baile were draughts and purshes made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came into confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Cashell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboue three score gallowglasses, besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a forreie thither, and being entred into the wood berie earlie laie close all the forenone. For these gallowglasses had bin so daret from time to time, that now like a sort of deere they late vpon their keepings; and so fearfull they were, that they would not tarrie in any one place any long time, but where they did best their meat, thence they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thence go into another place to lie: In the nights they would watch, in the forenones they would be vpon the hills and mounteins, to descrite the countrie, and in the afternone they would scape. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were adrepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenly entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which five and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without any great danger passe throughout Pounser.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the erle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a priest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the erle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they toke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date unto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be seene. And further, that he had his onelie release and was fostered by Goron mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discovered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cuth: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The erle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discovered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cuth to the working of his too; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Goron mac Swene, & Poile Apouough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Goron mac Swene in the meane time entred into Carberie, and taketh a

great piete of kine, which he dynd forthwith into Desmond toward the erle, but the forreie was so long, that he late short of the erle that night about three or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, thre of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stollen awaye their owne kine if by any means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer any thing at all. The foresaid Goron, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abrode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelve score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both: and as soone as they had cut off their heads, they stayed for themselves. Gorons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abrode to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lying dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wold not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust judgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the persecuted and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the erle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and marvellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he preparereth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Traleigh, minding to take a piete from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euenting he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh unto a castell there, & commanded them to take their piete from thence, which they did, and brought the same awaye with them.

Among those kine thus dyuen awaye, a poore woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a manner the onelie release of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how she could by any means recouer them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Aporetos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praiering him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had dyuen the piete awaye, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castlemarke, which castell was in the waie. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chelson, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the piete which was dyuen that waie. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seven shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vnder

Goron mac Swene is killed.

The erle cometh mandeth piete to be taken in Kerrie.

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harlo wood,

der the castell, & so they went altogether to Craleigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man bozne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies under Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Craleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Apozetto because he was bozne in those parties, and best knewe the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thence they followed the tract untill they came to the side of a mountaine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come upon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closethe and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discover what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe unto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about five or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to knowe the whole matter. Apozetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good array, as was most for their service, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the rest were gone. Then Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head: whereupon the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staid his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he waxed verie faint, and could not trauell anye further: whereupon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and took what them liked: and then they all departed and went to Castlemange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinly knowne. As soone as they came to Castlemange, they sent the said earles head into the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put upon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more service to be done: for euerie rebell cast away his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subjects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood by on his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a prize. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece upon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioiced and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Dounster, the two lord iustices which late at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamourings, exclamations, and bzingling of the Irish people, not worth the remembryng: sauing that a certein combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwixt two Dconbours, verie nere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Guill Patrike Dconbour appellat; the other was named Con

The earle of Desmonds head sent into England and put upon London bridge.

John Bourke hauing a protection, made a sleight, and was killed.

A combat betwixt two Dconbours.

mac Cormack Dconbour defendat. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other trial but by combat, which was granted unto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and then he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendat brought in, in the like manner and order; and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who then he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendat was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the trial of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

Upon this their senerall answers, they were senerally called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corpozall oth that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being sworn are brought backe againe euerie of them to their senerall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen unto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met each one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned unto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie disarmed the defendat, but also with the sword of the said defendat did cut off his head, and upon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somwhat of much of the manner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances thereunto belonging is now for want of use almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valliantly done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole ser of the Dconbours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Baltinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small griefe unto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anye longer against his mates force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some releefe and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholle greife & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and governed the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

the manner of the combat.

The vicount of Baltinglas imbarcked for Spaine.

The vicount of Baltinglas imbarcked for Spaine.

counsell stand.

the whole night into the grounds.

the whole and bellu bellon; t in apoun ted: they of sir Jof lord depu of June soure, th reigne b being en that of bl celued of thie serai in apoun was sub well reso as they d to his ful petuall f meane ti some spe serue to l of this in be bath that he v to a full: Giraldu dome m Not lo after the welcom and are l ship har himselfe them, a in he so Scots i to fabri faith, as they ha in they lie rent noz too any tru the bett The Dubli to deni whole i latus o verie t nie of i whose i lord ch the pri of Kil ster, i tholas thiese thiese knight seral comm knight was: frele the W By n and p bzing the la and p befo;



the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and delivered the same from all open or known rebellions; they cashed and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundredz excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent over to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundredz fourscore and four, the six and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne: unto whome they delivered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to ensue. For he was a right worthy servant in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole province marvellously well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they do well deserve, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registered to his perpetual fame and immortall honor. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensive to remember some speciall points of his late service, which do deserve to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which do halson and give a hope that he will *A dder colophonem*, and bying that land to a full and perfect government & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are by in armes ready for the warre. His lordship having notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he is so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were driven to seeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they toke the lands wherein they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yielding a yearelie rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

When when he was from this service returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indenor was to devise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did verie often assemble the whole counsell, or so manie of them as were there, for their advise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Dymond lord treasurer, the primate of Armagh, the bishop of Meath, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the role, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Colles knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Baberbie, Dessele Fenton secretaire, sir Warham Bentleger & sir Valentine Broton knights; but discontinued. By the good advise, helpe, and counsell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bying the whole land into thire grounds, whereby the laws of England might have a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Sidnets before had done in a few counties, that he perfo-

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To everie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisite, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and everie which shires hitherto not registered, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their provinces as followeth.

Counties in Mounster.	Limerike	} Old coun- ties.	The shires in Ireland.
	Corke		
	Kerrie		
	Tipporaria		
	Crosse		
Waterford	} New coun- tie .		
		Desmond	
Counties in Vlfster.	Louth	} Old coun- ties.	
	Downe		
	Antrim		
	Monahon	} New coun- ties.	
	Tiron		
	Armagh		
	Colrane		
	Donergall		
Farmanagh			
Cauon			
Counties in Leinster.	Dublin	} Old coun- ties.	
	Wexford		
	Catherlogh		
	Kilkennie		
	Kildare		
	Kings countie	} New coun- ties.	
	Queenes countie		
	Meth & West- Medr		
	Longefford		
	Wickelaw		
Fernes			
Counties in Connagh.	Clare	} Old coun- ties.	
	Lettrimme		
	Gallowaie	} New coun- ties.	
	Rosecomin		
	Maio		
Sligo			

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parliament, then hir maiesties writs and processe had a free passage, and were current through out the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be soveraigne lady and queene of the same. When the Irish by little and little gave over their *Bye-laws*, and their Irish usage, and became obedient unto the English laws; unto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to have all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betwene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the province of Vlfster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Ouele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Ouele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that province, when so ever any discord or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the same decided. Fewer the less, these two noble men leaning to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, do refer themselves to the trial of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

English laws current through Ire-land.

Ouele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other as law.

maner of mndat.

John Perot knight

John Perot knight

The became  
of Walter  
in the service of  
is list.

The became  
Baltinaght  
in the service of  
Bpant.

The whole  
country into  
one ground.

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the trial of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so hapie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, hir maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israel. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the hapie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and encountered withall, by the right worthy Sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were banquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthy to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge whereof, though John Hooker the writer herof haue bene a diligent traveller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requirerh, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and queenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoever tofore hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnaturall, as were the last warres of the Geraldines of Desmond in Spounster. For of the Geraldines of Killmore, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords appointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeyed in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinaunces, and shall receiue his iudgement: as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this rebelle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to that and conclude this historie; with the brieue recitall of the most speciall points, as in euery man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing merites and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmorris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to invade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of hir maiestie from hir imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneys to practise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster. Soine with him, he did commit a robbery; and being pursued by the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robbery vpon Sir Colman mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Cork, where he was drowned, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Cork. After him, Sir John of Desmond, another brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Wolball, and by them he receiued his lust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a frændkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Cork, where his bodie was hanged by the heels, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was diuided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie buried certaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beastes. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of pyrites, is now for treasons and rebellions utterly extinguisht and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctores, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their folish fantasies dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords appointed: the one of them liuing by his sword against his sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Spounster, one thousand five hundred threecore and ninetene, was slaine and killed: the other, after that he had followed the heels of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleueles, in such diseases as famine and penurie vnto him. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their comforts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of souldiours, galloglasles, kernes, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose bloods the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beastes of the field did consume and deuoure. After this followeth an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not destroy, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alitue, saving such as dwelled in cities and towne, and such as were fled thence into England: and yet the store in the towne was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie vnto eat horses, bogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be many examples: namelie one in the countie of Cork, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, toke him downe, and did eat him. At the wise in the date of Somers weke, or saint Marie weke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion; there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

the comm on limpets, o And, and whil these dead bodie did eat a death and fair land it selfe, well inhabite God, being ploried with all is now becom the pastures n birds, the feasting nothing. God was to g man and beat one end into waterford to hunt for scoze woman, or of yet se ante be and other like dead being fa A hroue, but charoficall an snations, no c claimed and re and to obete ti bediocrice; but spaxim to ho Home to obel felues and of that commeth hils, and that wickednesse a be the fruits u ster pope, the and the entim thirlinefle w of the saints, uening gats i such as doe ser not be drunk doth appere by and blodie pe throughout al not performe Ireland, i

James De...

Sir John of...

Sir John of...

The rebe...

James De...

Sir John of...

Sir John of...

The rebe...

James De...

Sir John of...

Sir John of...

The rebe...

James De...

Sir John of...

Sir John of...

The rebe...

The common people, who had a long time lived  
on limpets, oysters, and such shellfish as they could  
find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw  
these dead bodies, they took them up, and most gra-  
tullie did eat and deuoure them: and not long after,  
death and famine did eat and consume them. The  
land it selfe, which before those wars was populous,  
well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of  
God, being plentious of coyne, full of cattell, well  
storied with fish and sundrie other good commodities,  
is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits,  
the pastures no cattell, the fields no coyne, the aire no  
birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yield-  
ing nothing. Finally, euerie wate the curse of  
God was so great, and the land so barren both of  
man and beast, that whosoever did trauell from the  
one end vnto the other of all Spounser, euen from  
Waterford to the head of Sméretwéeke, which is a-  
bout six score miles, he should not meet anie man,  
woman, or child, saying in towne and cities; no;  
yet for anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes,  
and other like rauening beasts: manie of them late  
dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere.  
A heaule, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a  
pharisaicall and stiffnecked people, who by no per-  
suasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be re-  
claimed and reduced to serue God in true religion,  
and to obeie their most lawfull prince in dutifull o-  
bedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god  
spaxim to honoz, and of that wicked antichrist of  
Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthrow of them-  
selues and of their posteritie. This is the godnesse  
that commeth from that great citie vpon the seuen  
hils, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all  
wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These  
be the fruits which come from that holie father, mas-  
ter pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne,  
and the enemie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose blood  
spirituall will neuer be quenched, but in the blood  
of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose ra-  
uening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of  
such as do serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will  
not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it  
doth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres,  
and bloodie persecutions, which he daile exerciseth  
throughout all christian lands. Which because he can  
not performe also within the realmes of England  
& Ireland, what practises hath he made by inchant-

ments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereaue  
hir maiestie of hir life: What deuises hath he vied to  
raisse vp hir owne subiects to rebellions and commo-  
tions, to supplant hir of hir roiall estate and govern-  
ment: What practises hath he vied with forren prin-  
ces and potentats, to seeke occasions of breaches of  
peace and raisings of warres: And how craftilie  
hath he suborned his vnholie & traitorous Iesuits,  
vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place  
through hir maiesties realmes, and to moue and  
persuade hir people from dutifull obedience vnto hir  
highnesse, and to denie hir supreme authoritie and  
gouernment: Finally, how doth he from time to  
time like a rauening wolfe seeke the deuouring of  
hir, and of all hir good subiects, which liue in the feare  
of God, and in the religion established vpon his ho-  
lie word and gospel: Whereof hath ensued the losse  
of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie ap-  
parant examles are set downe and recorded in the  
histories of England; but of them all, none more  
lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and espe-  
ciallie this tragedie of Spounser. In which it doth  
appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes  
quarrels, the earth hath drunke by the blood, the souls  
of the aire haue preied, and the beasts of the field  
haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes &  
numbers of people. Which if euerie man would  
well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see  
the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice  
against all such as shall dishonoz his holie name; and  
against such as shall rebell and resist against his an-  
nointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their  
liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true  
religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience  
to his annointed. And the god and godlie shall see,  
and thereby consider the great god mercies shewed  
vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth  
preserue and keepe them from out of the lawes of  
the lion in all safetie, that they should daile more  
and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all  
holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all  
dutifull obedience vnto hir maiestie our soueraigne  
ladie and quene; whose daies the Lord God conti-  
nue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his god  
will and pleasure: and so shall we hir peo-  
ple see god daies, liue in securi-  
tie, and the peace of Israel  
shall be vpon vs.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker  
alias Vowell, Gent.

